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48. 1138.





THE  
COSSACKS OF THE UKRAINE:

COMPRISING

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES

OF

*The most celebrated Cossack Chiefs or Attamans,*

INCLUDING

CHMIELNICKI, STENKO RAZIN,  
MAZEPPA, SAVA, ZELEZNIAK, GONTA, PUGATCHEF,

AND

A DESCRIPTION OF THE UKRAINE.

WITH

A MEMOIR OF PRINCESS TARAKANOF,  
AND SOME PARTICULARS RESPECTING CATHERINE II., OF RUSSIA,  
AND HER FAVOURITES.



BY

COUNT HENRY KRASINSKI,

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KNIGHT OF THE POLISH MILITARY ORDER; AND MEMBER OF THE POLISH  
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LONDON :

PARTRIDGE AND OAKEY, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCXLVIII.

**T. C. JOHNS,**

**WINE OFFICE COURT, FLEET STREET.**



TO HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY,

ABDUL MEDJID,

Sultan of Turkey and Egypt.

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SIRE,

The history of the Cossacks of the Ukraine has such a strong connexion with the history of Poland, and the history of the Ottoman empire, that it shows most clearly that both these countries had for ages, and have even now, but one common enemy;—an enemy which, under the plea of friendship, has never ceased to weaken indirectly the resources of Turkey, to undermine her vital strength, and to lay such artful snares for the taking of Constantinople, that had not all the movements of Russia been closely watched by your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's illustrious father of glorious memory, SULTAN MAHMOUD, had she not been foiled in all her schemes on Turkey in 1840, by the great energy and extraordinary sagacity of the Right Honourable Viscount Palmerston, one of the greatest statesmen of his age, she might have inflicted the deepest injury on your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's dominions.

For the above reasons, and considering that your IMPERIAL MAJESTY is animated with the best possible feelings towards her most gracious Majesty, Victoria I., Queen of Great Britain, whom I can now in my heart call my own sovereign; considering, moreover, that one of my ancestors, who belonged to the Confederation of Bar, was most hospitably received on the Turkish soil, and, that he recommended, on his death bed, his friends always to be grateful to the Turks; I therefore hope that it may please your IMPERIAL MAJESTY to accept the dedication of my work on the Cossacks, which I venture to lay at the foot of your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's august throne, as a small token of my regard for your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's qualities and virtues, and my ardent wishes for your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's health, and the prosperity of the Turkish empire.

I have the honour to remain,

Your IMPERIAL MAJESTY's

Most humble and devoted Servant,

HENRY KRASINSKI.

*London, 15th October, 1848.*

## PREFACE.



THERE are two kind of authors, one who foster some predominating view with their pen, the other, who use it chiefly as an instrument for securing their personal advantages. I claim a place, however humble, in the former category.

Ever intent on the contemplation of the ancient glory of Poland, whose history and politics are familiar to me, because they have seldom ceased to be the special object of my researches and persevering study, I am always anxious to attract the reflecting readers attention to that which engrosses my own thoughts; namely, how it is possible to humble Russia, to restore Poland as a nation, and to increase the salutary influence abroad, and the prosperity at home, of Great Britain. Hence, all that I have ever written in Polish, French, or English, has been historical in character, anti-Russian in sentiment, and consequently exclusively favourable to Poland and England. Having spent some of my boyish years in the secluded regions of the Polish Ukraine; and having, at a later period, often

inhabited and visited, north and south, the most dreary parts of ancient Poland; having always been passionately fond of shooting, and lived occasionally for days, even in winter, in the open air, I naturally acquired (though I have never been in America), something of the habits of a North American hunter, and may be almost considered as a child of the desert. Indeed, though I lived for years at Warsaw and Paris, stayed often even in London, yet, however partial at times I might have been to polite society, I could never shake off completely my early recollections, nor forget the effect produced on my youthful and naturally enthusiastic mind, by the soaring of eagles, the neighing of the herds of wild horses, the howling of ravenous wolves, and the harmonious winds of the Steppes. To this may be attributed the facility with which I occasionally describe some of the fiercer passions of the human heart, and my partiality in fostering in my publications subjects, more connected with the history of my own country, than with other countries, and consequently more congenial with the branch of politics to which I devoted my attention. To the abovenamed early recollection may be also ascribed, that the outpourings of my pen bear rather an impress of romantic wildness than that of too refined civilization. But if I sacrifice elegance to energy in my writings, it will, I think, be admitted, that I have a noble object in view. Without being for an instant deceived by the artfully concealed aim of panslavism, which with all its fine

words, crafty sophisms, and childish arguments, intends nothing more than to dismember Turkey and Austria, to erase Poland from the map of nations, to disturb the balance of power, to check British commerce and British influence in the south-east of Europe, as well as in Egypt and Persia, and to endanger the British communications with India for ever in favour of Russia. Thoroughly convinced that nothing short of the complete independence of Poland, on a liberal scale, and the rigid preservation of the Ottoman empire, can save Europe from north-eastern invasion, and permanently guarantee the blessings of peace and progressive improvement all over the world. I have boldly pointed attention to what I deem the weakest, and therefore the most vulnerable, part of Russia.

To those who, having never exposed their heads to the Russian bullets, advised the Poles to submit blindly to Russia, as well as to those who, without the slightest knowledge of Polish history, past or present, became suddenly authors of political pamphlets, and from various motives (no doubt favourable to their private interests), now preach the same doctrine among the Poles, I beg to answer, that in proportion to the increasing danger with which Russia was occasionally threatened by numerous wars and political commotions in Europe, she always flattered Poland, and tried, with crafty and seasonable insinuations, to gain the confidence of the Poles. So did Catherine II. before the partition of Poland; so did the Emperor Paul I.; so did Alex-

ander in 1807, 1812, and 1815; so did the Emperor Nicholas in 1829, and does now—and while I admit that the hatred that exists between Russia and Poland for ages, is entirely of a political nature, and can cease under proper circumstances—I by no means admit blind submission to Russia as beneficial to the Poles, especially in the present unsettled state of Europe. If, however, Russia will give up part, at least, of her Polish provinces; if she will restore all the confiscated property of the Poles, recal from abroad and Siberia all the Polish political exiles, if she will withdraw her armies from Poland, re-establish the constitutional kingdom of Poland, proclaim either his Imperial Highness the Grand Duc Michel, or his Imperial Highness the Duke of Leichtenberg, or any other personage whom she may think proper, as the future king of Poland, and allow the formation of a purely national Polish army, under the command of Chlopicki, Skrzynecki, Uminski, Dwernicki, Bem, or Rozycki, as the safest guarantee of keeping her promise, then a permanent peace between Russia and Poland is possible, and Poland, though oppressed for ages, and who had, and still has such a strong claim to the gratitude of civilized Europe, may consider Russia as her sister, improve her morality, keep pace with the march of constitutional freedom, and drown in oblivion her Tartaro-Calmuck pranks: but without the fulfilment of a great part of the above-named guarantee, the friendly dispositions of Russia towards Poland is too great a mockery, and cannot

possibly deceive any man who has one single grain of common sense.

The denationalizing of Poland for many reasons is impossible, and if Russia will not give up Poland voluntarily, that kingdom will be wrested from her sooner or later. Poland was conquered, temporarily, because she was a republic; had she been a regular kingdom, she would never have become the prey of her neighbours. Should all Europe become a republic (which is very doubtful), Poland might accept the form of republican government; but even then, Poland would be the last of all the European nations where the republican government can work well. Whoever has a practical knowledge of all the parts of Poland, must be well aware, that a king is as necessary to the future well-being of Poland, as the mother's milk to the existence of a child.

Having, after a mature consideration, formed my own opinion on the Polish question (though at variance with the generality of the Poles of two opposite parties), I am convinced, that neither any advocate of the wild democracy, nor any man notoriously connected with the last Polish insurrection in 1831, can ever rule Poland; but any talented and energetic man (unconnected with either party), whom circumstances or European diplomacy may favour, can rule that kingdom, and soothe all its internal animosities. Considering that true liberty, which is spoken of everywhere, does not exist but in England; considering that all dispas-

sionate men, who have resided some years in England, agree that British institutions are superior to all others without exception; that the British government is the best in the world; considering that dethroned kings, expelled dukes, illustrious princes, fallen ministers of various shades; considering that even such contrasts as Metternich and Louis Blanc, with swarms of persecuted chiefs, sectarians, exiles, from all parts of the world, find shelter in England, where their persons are safe, their creed respected, their property protected; considering that parties are so well balanced in England that none of them can oppress each other; considering that England expended twenty-five millions for liberating the slaves; considering that British sailors and soldiers, without much noise, under Nelson, Wellington, Harding, Napier, Edwardes, never showed their backs to the enemy, and conquered all nations; considering that there is no better climate for longevity than in England; nowhere are to be found fairer, or more virtuous women than in England; it must be acknowledged, without speaking of British superiority in every branch of science and literature, that as long as she shall reasonably protect the Established church, and produce such political giants as Lansdown, Palmerston, Russell, Peel, and Graham, who, under the most trying circumstances governed her realms with extraordinary firmness, prudence, and foresight, and give at the same time fairly an example of all domestic



virtues, England, firm like a rock amidst the raging political storms, will always be the real queen of the world; and, therefore, I cannot but imagine that nothing could be more advantageous to Poland (in the event of the restoration of that country), than that a British nobleman should become the future king of Poland. But should no British noble be induced to ascend the throne of Poland—and my earnest hope thus remain ungratified—his place might then be supplied by one of the princes Esterhazy, or by a Swedish, Servian, German, Italian, or any other foreign prince.

By propagating such an opinion, I offended some influential individuals, who never forgave me, and finding it impossible to alter my feelings in their favour, knowing some of my weaknesses, as also various difficulties in which I have necessarily been involved as an exile, they have indirectly inflicted great injury upon my prospects in England. I was exposed, not only to annoyances, but to artfully propagated slander, unworthy even of an answer. Let them remember that noble blood flows in my veins, and that no offers, however tempting, can bribe me, and though, in consequence of crafty intrigues, some publications have been directed against me in various languages, it will ultimately rather tend to serve than to injure me. Confident in the purity of my intentions, and in the soundness of my political intellect, I shall fight my own battle, like the worthy British Missionaries who spread

in all parts of the world, amid raging storms, the blessings of the Gospel.

Three years ago, during my stay at Richmond, in Yorkshire, I compiled a regular history of the Polish Cossacks, which I properly corrected in the British Museum; but having neither literary acquaintances, nor available means of publishing it, and being more thwarted than encouraged in my literary exertions, I was twice obliged to curtail it, and so leave unpublished, perhaps, the most interesting part of it. Whoever is an author, must admit that there is nothing more unpleasant than to condense and completely re-model historical subjects, after they have been once prepared and matured for the press.

In my present work on the Cossacks, I describe their piratical expeditions into Turkey, and sketch their dangerous rebellion (fostered by Russia) in Poland, under Chmielnicki, Zelezniak, and Gonta; and not less formidable rebellions in Russia, under Stenko Razin, Mazeppa, and Pugatchef, which rebellions cost Russia nearly a million of human beings, and shook that empire to its very foundation, and even to this time has not only impaired its whole strength, but rendered its continued existence a mysterious problem. Having further described all the branches of the Polish Cossacks, with their most noted chiefs, from almost the beginning of their political existence till our time, I then unveil many interesting facts respecting Catherine II., as connected with Poland,

and give a short account of her lovers and the victims of her hatred, as also the various diabolical intrigues for which she was so infamously celebrated. I conclude the work with a statistical, historical, and geographical description of the Ukraine, from time immemorial the land of unbridled passions, poetry, and romance, and the source from which the genius of Byron drew the material of his poem of Mazeppa.

Some of the notes are written in the form of memoirs, and will be found full of interest. The anecdotes on Prince Pashkievich and Countess Cordule Fredro, are peculiar and characteristic. Many curious customs of the dreariest parts of Poland are mentioned. The dark shade of the Ukrainian poetry, and the singular adventures of the principal Ukranian poets are faithfully described. The music to be found at the end of the book may be attractive to the fairer portion of my readers.

In the life of Pugatchef, following blindly a written document, I committed, unintentionally, an historical error, which I am anxious to correct. It was not the Russian general Tchernishef, but the Russian general Carr, who was first vanquished by Pugatchef.

The whole work, though very imperfectly written in English, may yet prove interesting alike to the historical student and the general reader, if they will but consider the importance of the subject rather than its style of composition.

A small part of this work I have already written in French, those who wish to translate it into Italian, Spanish, and German, will not, probably, take advantage of a Polish exile, and may readily make terms for publication. In any written communication with me, it is necessary to put distinctly my christian name, HENRY, on the address, to prevent mistakes, which has on more than one occasion exposed me to great annoyances.

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# HISTORY

OF

## THE COSSACKS OF THE UKRAINE.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE POLISH COSSACKS.

Origin of the Cossacks—Derivation of the Name—Invasion of Batukhan—The Tatars—Difference between Russian and Polish Cossacks—The Cossacks of the Don—Their Arms and Mode of Warfare—The first Chief of the Cossacks of the Dnieper—Union of the Cossacks with Poland—Batory—His Policy respecting the Cossacks—Their Incursions—Boats—Cruises on the Black Sea—Dissensions between the Cossacks and the Poles—Revolt of the Cossacks—Their Defeat—Sahaydatchny—Decline of the Cossacks—History of Khmielnitski—Andrew Firley—His Defence of Zbaraz—Horrors of the Siege—The friendly Arrow—Battle of Zborof—Convention of Khmielnitski with the Poles—His treacherous conduct—Deliverance of Khmielnitski—His Invasion of Moldavia—Battle of Beresteczko—Defection of Khmielnitski—The Convention with Russia—The two wild Bulls—The dying words of Khmielnitski.

THE immense solitudes which spread between the Volga, the Don, and the Dnieper, between the Caspian Sea and the Black Sea, appear to have been, from time immemorial, the fatherland of those wandering nations and barbarian hordes who, subsisting by rapine and

pillage, thundered down upon civilized Europe like an avalanche; leaving in the rear of their destructive and fearful track nought save carnage, conflagration, ruin, and despair.

Confounded and intermixed, as regards their origin, the one with the other, these predatory tribes have passed, ever since the ancient Scythians, under different names; but all bear one peculiar, distinctive, and forcibly-impressed character, both individually and in common, too indelible to be either obliterated or mistaken: whilst the general resemblance observable amongst them is so decided and striking, as to preclude their being confounded with any other races; notwithstanding that a few varying shades in individual character, attributable to slight differences or modifications of general climate—the moral results of successful or of unsuccessful wars—and other accidental circumstances influencing the destiny of so numerous and widely-extended a race of barbarian adventurers, may have caused some disparity in the general features of resemblance otherwise recognizable among them.

The origin of the Cossack tribes is lost in the obscurity of ages; and many celebrated historians are still divided in opinion as to whence the term Cossack, or rather *Kosaque*, is properly to be derived. This word, indeed, is susceptible of so many etymological explanations, as scarcely to offer for any one of them decided grounds of preference. Everything, however, would seem to favour the belief that the word Cossack,



or *Kosaque*, was in much earlier use in the vicinity of the Caucasus than in the Ukraine.\*

It is possible that the *Kotzagery* and the *Kosarts* may claim some sort of affinity with the primitive ancestors of the ancient Kosaques, with whom they are occasionally confounded; nevertheless, it is not until long afterwards, that the *Pélooses* or the *Komans* can be reasonably considered as the true stock of the Kosaque race, from whom the Mamelukes also derive their origin. Sherer, in his "Annals of Russia Minor," (La Petite Russie,) traces back the origin of the Cossacks to the ninth century; but he does not support his assertion by any facts clothed with the dignity of historical truth. It appears certain, however, that the vast pasture lands between the Don and the Dnieper, the country lying on the south of Kiow, and traversed by the Dnieper up to the Black Sea, was the principal birthplace of the Cossacks.

When, in 1242, Batukhan<sup>b</sup> came with five hundred thousand men to take possession of the empire which fell to his share of the vast inheritance left by Tchingis Khan, he extirpated many nations and displaced many others. One portion of the *Komans* flying from the horrors of this terrific storm, and arriving on the borders of the Caspian Sea, on the banks of the Iaïk, (now Ouralsek,) turned to the left, and took refuge between the embouchures of that river, where they dwelt in small numbers, apart from their brethren, in a less fertile climate. These were, incontestably, the progeni-

tors of the Cossacks of the Iaik, who are, historically, scarcely important enough for notice ; and who, obscure and ignoble, were supported chiefly from the produce of their fisheries, and the plunder acquired during their predatory excursions. In religion they were rather idolaters than Christians.

At the approach of this formidable invasion towards the Don, that portion of the Komans located on the left bank took refuge in the marshes, and in the numerous islands formed by that river near its embouchure. Here they found a secure retreat ; and from thence, having, from their new position, acquired maritime habits and seafaring experience, they not only, themselves, resorted to piracy as a means of existence, but likewise enlisted in a formidable confederacy, for purposes of rapine and pillage, all the roving and discontented tribes in their surrounding neighbourhood. These latter were very numerous. The Tatars, ever but indifferent seamen, had not the courage to join them in these piratical expeditions. This division of the Komans is indubitably the parent-stock of the modern Cossacks of the Don, by far the most numerous of the Cossack tribes: by amalgamation, however, with whole hosts of Tatar and Calmuck hordes, lawless, desperate, and nomadic as themselves, they lost, in some degree, the primitive and deeply-marked distinctive character of their race.

The Komans of the Dnieper offered no more energetic resistance to the invading hordes of Batukhan

than had been shown by their brethren of the Don: they dispersed in various directions; and from this people, flying at the advance of the ferocious Tatars, descended a variety of hordes, who occasionally figure in history as distinct and independent nations. Some of them hastened to implore the hospitality of Bella IV., king of Hungaria: they made their appearance as supplicants for his protection; lands were distributed to them, a chief assigned as their ruler, and efforts were made to polish and soften down their rude and ferocious manners. As long as the danger lasted, they remained quiet; but, after a while, incapable of subjection to the yoke of a calm and peaceful existence, they broke out into open revolt, massacred the chief who had been set over them; and resumed their former life of rapine and pillage. Being consequently attacked with considerable forces, they were defeated and pursued with great virulence; and ultimately found a permanent resting-place in the wild islets of the Dnieper, below the cataracts, where dwelt already a small number of their ancient compatriots, who had escaped the general destruction of their nation. This spot became the cradle of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, or of the tribes known in after times as the Polish Cossacks.

When Guedynum, Grand Duke of Lithuania, after having defeated twelve Russian princes on the banks of the Piërna, conquered Kiow with its dependencies. in 1320, the wandering tribes scattered over the

steppes of the Ukraine owned his allegiance. After the victories of Olgiérd, of Vitold, and of Ladislas Jagellon, over the Tatars and the Russians, large bodies of Scythian militia, known subsequently by the comprehensive denomination of *Cossacks*, or Kosaques, served under these conquerors: and after the union of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania with Poland, in 1386, they continued under the dominion of the grand dukes of Lithuania, forming, apparently, an intermediate tribe or caste, superior to the peasantry and inferior to the nobles. At a later period, when the Ukraine was annexed to the Polish crown, they passed under the protection of the kings of Poland. Kazimir Jagellon had in his service a body of these troops, forming a kind of militia, dressed in English woollen cloth.<sup>c</sup> We cannot, therefore, assign to the Cossacks a Russian origin, without rejecting the authority of a series of historical documents, the veracity and genuine character of which are indisputable. The similarity of their language to that of the Slavonic races; and, as regards religion, their profession of the Greek faith, may be easily explained and accounted for. Located in the immediate neighbourhood of the Slavonic nations, they have adopted the idiom of the latter: in nearly equal proximity to the Greeks, they embraced that religion, probably at a much earlier period than did the Russians.

To give, in the present work, a detailed account of all the Cossack tribes, and to describe the various

points of difference formerly existing, and which still continue to exist, between the Russian and Polish Cossacks, would be too wide a digression from the main subject of this historical essay: however, as the two races in question are still frequently confounded together, it may be proper here succinctly to inform the reader in what these points of difference appear chiefly to consist.

Although there may, doubtless, exist several species or castes of Cossacks, and to whom Russia, in order to impose on Europe, is pleased to give as many different names, yet there never have been, nor will there ever be, properly speaking, more than two principal tribes of the Cossack nation, namely, the Cossacks of the Don, or Don-Cossacks, and the Cossacks of the Black Sea, known in ancient times as the Polish Cossacks, or *Zaporowscy Kozacy*. And notwithstanding that the Cossacks may have had one common origin from the very commencement of their existence as a people, it needs to be repeated again that a variety of causes, as, for instance, the lapse of time, the mutation of events, the disparity of their individual modes of life, the changing influence of unforeseen circumstances, the modifications of slightly varying climate, or of the soil they inhabit, and more especially their fusion or intermixture with other nations, (the sure and powerful source of change, both social and physical), would seem to have established a perceptible difference between the two principal branches of this singular race of men.

The Cossacks of the Don long inhabited both shores of that river. They are the most numerous: as military adjuncts, they are excellent for foraging parties, for surprising an enemy, cutting off his communications, and pursuing him when defeated. They make excellent pioneers; nor are their services less useful in pillaging a country, or in guarding its frontiers. They utter most singular cries when in pursuit of a retreating foe: their horses, small in make but extremely vigorous, and proof to all kinds of fatigue, clear all difficulties of the ground, carry their riders everywhere with facility, and are, like their masters, content with the most meagre fare: indeed, there can be no doubt, but that the Cossacks in question have rendered signal service to Russia, which, ever since the year 1549, has taken them under her protection, without, however, the existence of any official act, treaty, or stipulation, confirming their submission to that power. But sooth to say, these pretended heroes are, in point of fact, altogether worthless as regular soldiers: the mere aspect of a musket or a pistol suffices to disperse them: they never dare charge in line, nor can they sustain a charge made upon them; so that with a single regiment of regular cavalry, one may always successfully attack ten regiments of Cossacks. In addition to a crooked sabre, a very long lance without pennant, and pistols, some few amongst them are armed with a long carabine, which carries to an almost incredible distance, and the ball of

which is exceedingly small : this is perhaps their most dangerous weapon, and in the use of which they are very expert, turning it, mostly, to very good account. Occasionally, they feign a sudden retreat ; and when they perceive that their pursuers are comparatively small in number, they rapidly face about, and become the assailants ; this, however, can only happen with an inexperienced body of troops, totally detached, and who are unacquainted with their adversaries' wily mode of warfare. The Don-Cossacks especially have always stood in extreme dread of the Polish Lancers ; a few squadrons of whom put to flight, during the wars of Napoleon, many of their entire regiments. The Cossack troops but rarely form into squadrons ; they even appear to entertain a strong aversion to every species of order and discipline ; they never decide an action ; but divide in their attack, falling indifferently on the van, the flanks, and the rear of an army on its march ; hovering around them like a vapoury cloud, which from one instant to another alternately augments, fades away, or dissipates entirely, again to form into shape and to revive with increased density. They but seldom make a direct charge in line with their cavalry ; but keep constantly pirouetting and prancing about, wheeling round, and skirmishing about in every possible direction, with astonishing swiftness and activity. From the moment of their having taken the field for a campaign, they observe no regular intervals of repose, nor stated times for repast ; they

set at nought the inclemency of the weather ; and rarely does anything escape the vigilance of their piercing sight, or the well-trained alertness of their acute sense of hearing : pillage is their peculiar *forte* ; and they are dangerous only to a flying enemy. Once dismounted, they lose all their previous activity and courage, become altogether useless, and may be easily vanquished.

The Don-Cossacks enjoy a certain kind of liberty and independence ; they have a *hetman*, *attaman*, or chief, nominated by the Emperor of Russia ; and to this chief they yield an obedience more or less willing and implicit ; in general, they are commanded only by Cossack officers, who take equal rank in the Russian army. They have a separate war administration of their own ; although they are compelled to furnish a stated number of recruits who serve in a manner for life, inasmuch as they are rarely discharged before attaining sixty years of age : on the whole, their condition is happier than that of the rest of the Russian population. They belong to the Greek-Russian church.

The existence of this small republic of the Don, in the very heart of the most despotic and most extensive empire in the world, appears to constitute a problem, the solution of which is not as yet definitively known, and the ultimate solution of which yet remains to be ascertained.

As for the second branch of the Cossack race, the remnants, so to speak, of which, namely, *Czarnomoc*y,



still exist, and who have not hitherto lost in any material degree the distinctive mark of their origin, a wide and striking difference is observable as to habits, mode of life, customs, and social peculiarities between them and the former class, without however impairing the general mutual resemblance which must ever continue to characterize the two nations.

The south-eastern districts of Poland, the Ukraine, and Podolia, exposed in former times to the incursions of barbarian hordes, were the scenes of eternal strife and bloodshed ; but as the soil of this part of Poland is the richest and most productive in all Europe, these provinces, although constantly ravaged, and frequently depopulated, became speedily repopled, and regained their previous state of prosperity ; and this the more easily, as these countries principally consist of extensive fields, capable of yielding support to a population of almost unlimited numbers. In order to impose an efficient check to the incursions of the Tatars, the Wallachians, and the Russians, the kings of Poland made grants of vast tracts of land on the banks of the Dnieper to the Polish nobles, on condition of the latter providing for their defence at their own expense and charges ; an arrangement which compelled these seignorial lords constantly to maintain a certain number of armed retainers in their pay, and to construct a line of strongholds, or fortified habitations, proof against the danger of a sudden attack. The soldiers in their pay were, usually, either the descendants of

ancient warriors, or of the primitive inhabitants of the Ukraine.<sup>d</sup>

It is towards the year 1506, after the Tatar wars, and in the time of Sigismund I., king of Poland, that historians mention, for the first time, a peculiar race of men as inhabiting both banks of the Dnieper (then nominally appertaining to Poland), as likewise the large and numerous islands formed by the course of that river below the cataracts. They are described as half-savages, living from the produce of the chase, of their fisheries, and of their excursions both by sea and land into Turkey; their numbers were daily increasing by the arrival amongst them of deserters, fugitives, and adventurers of all kinds and from all countries, seeking a refuge from the vengeance of their respective laws, and anxious to make war on their own account; and as the word *Kozak*, according to the Tatar translation of it, signifies a man slightly armed, a man who belongs or owes allegiance to no one, a man who has no fixed residence, who despises the conventional forms of society, and is ever ready to adventure on break-neck enterprises, the class of men in question then received for the first time in Poland the denomination of *Kosaques*; and as *za* signifies beyond, and *porog* cataract, in the Polish language, they were also called "Kosaques beyond the Cataracts," *Zaporogscy Kozacy*, although strictly speaking this term is applicable only to the Cossacks actually inhabiting the islands of the Dnieper, known under the designation of Zaporogues.

These latter formed afterwards a kind of aristocracy amongst the Cossacks, and must not be confounded with the agricultural Cossacks: they were, however, the nucleus of the race of Cossacks of the Ukraine, and ultimately separated themselves from the main body, in order to form a confraternity apart; retaining, up to the last moment of their existence, the primitive distinctive mark of their origin. We shall, subsequently, have again to recur to this subject, when explaining the word *Zaporogue*.

The first chief or attaman of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, Polish Cossacks, or Cossacks of the Dnieper, (for they are all three comprised under this denomination,) appears to have been Przeclaw Lanckoronski (pronounced Pchetslave Lantskoronsqui), staroste de Khmielnitza, a Polish noble of very ancient and distinguished family. At first the union of the Cossacks with Poland (in 1515) was the source of great embarrassment to the latter, seeing that over the vast pasture grounds of Podolia, then but nominally belonging to Poland, and forming scarcely more than a desert waste, the Turks left their herds of cattle to rove at will beyond the river Dneister. In so doing, they had never yet experienced any hindrance whatever. The Cossacks, however, urged by their thirst for rapine, and without permission from the Polish government, fell on their defenceless neighbours, whom they surrounded on all sides, massacred the herdsmen, and seized upon their cattle. At the news of this outrage, the Turks passed

the Dniester, which they then regarded as the limit or barrier between the two states, and in their turn fell upon the aggressors. The Turks were defeated, but returned to the charge, seven times invaded Podolia, and set the Tatars upon Poland.\* This was afterwards the fruitful source of frequent and calamitous wars between Turkey and Poland, and between the Cossacks and the Tatars; whereas their true line of policy would have been for all to have united for mutual self-defence against their common enemy the Russians.

As the Cossacks aided Sigismund I. on his return from his Russian expedition to take possession of Biälogrod, they thereby insinuated themselves into his good graces; and shortly afterwards the Diet of Piotrkow (in French, Petrykof) accorded them (in 1518), by the influence of that prince, a kind of pay or subsidy, on condition of their defending the frontiers; and it is only from this period that they are officially known throughout Poland under the name of Cossacks. By a second resolution of the Diet of 1529, both their numbers and their pay was somewhat increased. But it must be here remarked that the crown of Poland never recognized any territorial rights as belonging to the Cossacks; a precaution equally just as prudent. Sigismund, however, with his habitual sagacity, resolved to turn this irregular militia to some useful account, and to render it, by degrees, advantageous to the state; for this reason, he permitted Ostafi Daszkiewicz

(pronounced Daschkiévitch), a man of low extraction, but of great intelligence and bravery, to organize them if possible into regular form and discipline, and to instruct them in the art of war; a task which he accomplished to a certain point. He fashioned them into something like a regular body of militia, by means of which he was enabled to repel the incursions of the Tatars, and to gain some advantages over the Ottomans, the Wallachians, and the Russians. The king, Sigismund, not only ennobled the successful chieftain, but conferred upon him the starosties of Czerkassy with Krzyczef and Cieciersk (pronounced Tcherkassy, Kchitchève, Tsètshièrsque,) on the banks of the Dnieper, and appointed him attaman or chief of all the Polish Cossacks, as the recompense of his fidelity, valour, and good conduct. Although Daszkiewicz was not the first attaman of the Cossacks in question, yet it is to him nevertheless that is incontestably due the merit of having laid the first stone of their military organization: his successors but followed in the track he had originally marked out for them, and only perfected the work his genius had commenced.

At a later period, the celebrated Stephen Batory, as great a captain as he was a shrewd politician, saw clearly the advantages derivable from a nation (for with that title they were already invested,) who had been kindly treated in consideration of the good services they had rendered to the state, but who, in reality, were nothing more than a barbarian horde, a

rabble of notorious adventurers, a troop of ferocious banditti. He flattered himself with the hope of taming their impetuous ardour, by overwhelming them with kindness and marks of favour ; of attaching them permanently and indissolubly to Poland, and of being able to make a beneficial use of their enterprising bravery, without having to fear from their turbulence, their excesses, and unbridled license. He nominated Bohdon Rozynski attaman of the Polish Cossacks, and gave him the fortress of Trehtymirow, together with considerable revenues ; assigning superior marks of distinction to the dignity with which he had invested him. As part of the insignia of office the new attaman likewise received the *bulawa*, or baton of commander-in-chief, a horse's tail, *bunizuk* (bougnetchouque), for his standard ; and for armorial bearings or device, a figure representing a Cossack armed for battle, bearing a naked sword above his head, covered with the peculiarly shaped *czapka* (tchapka) or Cossack-bonnet, surmounted by a sort of triangular tassel, by way of *aigrette*, in all of which latter insignia the allusion to the Scythian origin of the Cossacks is sufficiently evident.

In order still further to facilitate the subjection of these new troops to the restraints imposed by a system of vigorous discipline, King Batory distributed the Cossack forces into six regiments of one thousand men each, again subdivided, respectively, into hundreds, or *sotnia* ; and in some one of which subdivisions

every Cossack soldier was required to have himself inscribed. He likewise created a general of artillery, styled *obozny*, a secretary (*pisar*), aides-de-camp (*assawaly*, pronounced *assavouli*), colonels commanding regiments (*pulkowniki* or *poulkoveniqui*), centurions commanding a sub-division or *sotnia* (*sotniki*), and *sudi* (*soudi*), a species of military judges, whose office it was to assist the chief in the regular discharge of his duties, and by their presence to add a more imposing and solemn character to his station and dignity. The hetman, attaman, or chief of the Cossacks, was required to fix his residence at Czehrin (Tcheguerine) or Trekthymirow, and it was in the environs of these two military stations that he was to exercise his militia, to renew the garrisons in the islands of the Dnieper, to prevent the incursions of the Tatars, keep watch over the safety of the frontiers, and direct all the offensive expeditions. Each Cossack received, as a largess or bounty from the King of Poland, as part of his pay, a ducat of gold and a pelisse. Those who were in receipt of this allowance were inscribed on the registers, and were called *rejestrowi* (registered men). Their chief had at his disposal, not only infantry, cavalry, and artillery forces, but also an excellent marine. Stephen Batory sanctioned the establishment of a still greater number of Cossacks in Lower Podolia and the Ukraine, as a reserve body, wherewith to replace, in case of need, their brethren engaged in active service; allowing them in the meantime to clear

and cultivate the waste lands. All this organizing of the Cossacks of the Dnieper seemed to be somewhat foreign to the settled institutions of the Polish monarchy, and resembled rather one of those military colonies of ancient Scythians, organized after the model of a Roman legion.

This was, undoubtedly, an institution highly favourable to the project of this great king: by this means he secured the defence of the southern frontiers of Poland, and increased his military strength at a cheap rate; at the same time fertilizing a desert country, and by insensible but sure degrees civilizing a race of men who were no less dangerous to those whom they were to defend than those with whom it was their business to be in a state of constant warfare and hostility. As the Cossacks in question were under the obligation of serving the king of Poland in all his warlike expeditions, Batory, from their ranks, augmented the Polish army by an additional force of six thousand light cavalry; and this addition, it was intended, should be permanent. In 1578, during the memorable war with Russia, this newly raised Cossack cavalry performed prodigies of valour, and powerfully contributed to the victories obtained by the Polish army over the Russians. At a latter period, King Batory, whilst according his favour and protection to the brave and meritorious portion of the Cossack troops, yet neglected at the same time no measures for repressing their lawless depredations. Having heard



that their new chief, Podkova (a Wallachian, so named on account of his extraordinary strength, he having repeatedly broken in two, with his fingers, a horse-shoe, *podkova*, in Polish), had, without his orders, invaded Wallachia, and by a sudden and totally unexpected irruption into that country, had seized possession of it, before its hospodar, Peter, an ally and relative of Batory, could have time to arm in its defence, he sent a prompt reinforcement to the assistance of the latter ; and Podkova, pursued and vanquished by superior numbers, was captured, and, by the king's orders, beheaded. This was the first collision that had occurred between the Poles and the Zaporogue Cossacks ; and, although affording a seasonable opportunity for the assertion of sovereign authority, and for the exercise of a just severity, requisite for the maintenance of public order, this incident served to open Batory's eyes, and to warn him that the Cossacks and their chief already possessed by far too ample means and incitements to create disturbance for them to remain submissive and tranquil. He resolved, therefore, to place some restrictions on their growing power ; and, by a skilful admixture in his measures of well-timed rigour with politic conciliation, he succeeded in calming the restless agitation of the Cossacks ; sending Polish colonists into the Ukraine to counterbalance for the future the innate turbulence of this singular race. As a state of almost eternal warfare existed beyond the cataracts of the Dnieper, the successor of Podkova,

the Attaman Schah, found a pretext for invading Turkey both by sea and land. After ravaging several of the Turkish provinces on the coast, he burned the suburbs of Constantinople, subdued the Turkish forces on every side, and carried off from the gates of the Seraglio, and under the very eyes as it were of the Sultan, one of his most beautiful favourites, returning back with his prize into the Ukraine. Incursions of a similar nature constantly succeeded each other, like the waves of a tempest-troubled ocean.

All the corsair incursions of the Cossacks in question were performed in light boats, called *czayki* (pronounced *tchaiqu*), the nature and construction of which merit particular notice. The largest of these pirate-vessels of the Zaporoguan Cossacks, the *czayka*, would contain from thirty to sixty men; was sixty feet long by twelve in breadth; furnished with a sail and from fifteen to twenty-five oars, and was armed with a couple of swivel guns, or leather cannons, and a competent number of smaller fire-arms. These vessels were, sometimes, constructed of the single trunk of the linden-tree, which was hollowed out by the Cossacks, and so fashioned that, by fastening to it a few planks of wood coated with pitch, they converted it into a kind of light bark or elongated barge, lined on the inside with skins or with leather, and surrounded, outside, with small floats or osier-boxes, which, breaking the force of the waves, served both to lighten the weight of the vessel, and, at the same time, to secure its steadiness, even during the

most violent tempests. This singular species of bark, having from eight to ten feet interior depth, possessed also the advantage of being managed with a facility almost incredible; inasmuch as a bark so constructed drew infinitely less water than any other vessel of equal capacity and dimensions. To complete such a vessel required generally the labour of sixty Cossacks for fifteen days.

With these barks, well-furnished with arms, ammunition, and ships'-stores, the Cossacks,<sup>s</sup> having chosen a naval chief and a favourable season, made sail for the Turkish coast. To form some idea of the boldness and reckless daring of these marauders, it may be remarked, that the Turks possessed at the mouth of the Dnieper and along the two opposite banks, Kissikerman and Tavangorod; and that the passage was defended by strong iron chains, stretched across under the cannon of both fortresses. The Cossacks, previously to their arrival at this spot, usually felled an enormous tree, which they drove before them on the surface of the stream with prodigious force: the chains were burst asunder, and, at the alarm thus given, the cannon were discharged. But the Cossacks, after clearing the obstacle in question, and in utter contempt of the Turkish fire now opened upon them, pushed forward into the Black Sea. Like the ancient Danes, wherever they made good a landing, they spread slaughter, conflagration, and ruin; they burned the fleets, pillaged the towns, gathered together their booty, carried off the

young women and children, massacred without pity all the males, and disappeared before news could be spread of their sudden appearance, or the necessary measures taken for repelling their terrible incursions. The time chosen for these murderous attacks was generally at day-break, or, occasionally, under cover of the darkest midnight. Their very name created terror along the coasts of the Black Sea. Not unfrequently they would even penetrate into the centre of Natolia. At sea, they directed their course without the aid of any nautical instruments, but by the sole guidance of the stars; and this with a regularity and precision difficult to be conceived—presaging winds, calms, and tempests, with mathematical exactness. By dint of these continual cruises on the Black Sea, and of their expeditions, almost invariably successful, they had acquired so intimate an acquaintance with its navigation, that, even through the darkest and most tempestuous night, they could sail on its waters with far greater certainty and security from danger than could the Turks in mid-day. The vessels that gave chase to them on their retreat, not only could never come up with them, but were frequently exposed to considerable loss. The Cossacks, to whom all the harbours were well known, took refuge, with their light barks, in shallows and sheltered creeks; from whence, having thus enticed their pursuers into dangerous and sometimes fatal positions, they slipped away beyond reach of their vengeance, and arrived safely with their booty on the desert

islands of the Dnieper, in triumphant defiance of the Turkish vessels sent out to chase them. The number of the Cossacks engaged in these piratical expeditions, varied from six to ten thousand picked men. The retreat, however, of the Cossacks into the shelter afforded by their islands was occasionally attended with considerable difficulty, and with greater hazard than even their attack, seeing that, closely watched, as was often the case by the Turkish navy at the mouth of the Dnieper, and not having the advantage of sailing with the tide in their favour, they were compelled to secrete themselves in the tall osier-beds, and to gain at high tide a bay separated only by a narrow slip of land from a lake. This lake communicated with a river which discharged itself into the Dnieper, a few miles above the mouth of the latter stream. The Cossacks, having once reached the vicinity of the lake, transported overland, and on their shoulders, their portable barks, gained the lake, on which they then re-embarked, and by this route returned home, thereby avoiding the Turkish batteries : at other times, they would retreat by way of the Don, ascending the course of a small stream which flows into that river close by the Samara. Such a mode of retreat was, however, but of rare occurrence, as in general they boldly ventured to make good their passage homewards under the very beards of the Turks. It may also be remarked that, as it was only during the clear bright nights that the Cossacks were liable to interruption by the Turks in

their movements, they generally chose for their piratical excursions the period of new moon, when the nights are dark and gloomy.

There never yet have been, as there probably never will be, a finer race of seamen navigating the Black Sea, than were formerly the Cossacks in question: they were never equalled, but in order to have again a like class of men, it would be necessary that a state of circumstances similar to those then existing should likewise be revived, an event which is all but impossible.

After the death of Batory, dissensions of a dangerous character began to arise between the Cossack colonists and the Polish nobles. Sigismund III., either from weakness or from ignorance, allowed the seignorial lords to oppress the Cossack settlers, who, it is true, were considered merely in the light of a militia in the pay of the Polish crown, but who were never serfs. They enjoyed, *de facto*, a certain kind of independence; had the privilege of reclaiming the waste lands in particular districts; as also of distilling brandy and brewing beer; privileges highly displeasing to the Polish nobles, and tending to diminish the revenues of the latter, who were in the habit of establishing Jews in their wine-houses or taverns for precisely the same purposes. Hence the extraordinary antipathy manifested by the Polish Cossacks towards the Jews, an antipathy which has never subsided. To this cause of ill-feeling was added another subject of discord still more serious,

the Poles were Catholics and the Cossacks schismatics. Sigismund III., a zealous Catholic, and governed entirely by the Jesuits, insisted on converting the Cossacks at whatever price; an attempt which exasperated the latter more than ever. As some of the attamans appeared favourable to his projects, the Cossacks refused to accept an attaman at the hands of the king, but elected their own chiefs, some of whom they even killed occasionally, when they happened to be unsuccessful in their piratical expeditions. They perceived, moreover, that there was no longer a Batory, whom they at the same time loved and dreaded, at the head of state affairs. It may also be remarked that the emperors of Germany, frequently at war with the Turks, powerfully encouraged, underhand, the incursions of the Cossacks against the latter power.

Under this complication of disturbing causes, symptoms of open rebellion began soon to manifest themselves in the Ukraine. After a few abortive attempts, energetically repressed by the skill and promptitude of the Polish generals, the Cossacks, in 1596, revolted *en masse*. The Grand-Hetman Zolkiewski marched against them; defeated them several times, not without considerable difficulty, and drove them at last into a spot where, surrounded on every side, and exposed to the destructive fire of the Polish artillery, they were forced to surrender at discretion. Their chiefs, Nalevgyke and Laboda, were taken, condemned to death, and executed. An amnesty was granted to the rest.

In 1621, in the war declared by Turkey against Poland, and which threatened the very existence of the state, Peter Konassewitch Sahaydatchny was elected by the Cossacks themselves attaman, and his election confirmed by the king. This chief, renowned for his victorious expeditions against the Russians, the Tatars, and the Turks, after having defeated and slain his rival, led 35,000 Cossacks to the Polish camp of the Grand-Hetman Chodkiiewicz, near Khotzim; and, having signalized himself by prodigies of valour, greatly contributed to the glorious result of that memorable war. He died shortly afterwards, with the reputation, undoubtedly well deserved, of having been one of the greatest chiefs of the Polish Cossacks, of whom he had several times been elected attaman. He was also prefect of the convent of Kiöf (Krivobratzkay), and president of the academy of that celebrated town.

From the year 1621 the maritime excursions of the Polish Cossacks appear to have declined in frequency, either on account of Turkey having adopted more efficient measures for repelling them, or from the Cossacks themselves (who had, in consequence of the wars with Russia and Germany, frequent opportunities of displaying elsewhere their restless activity in the field, and their passion for plunder), esteemed these marauding adventures as no longer so profitable as before. Previously to the Turkish war, in 1621, one of their chiefs was admitted into the presence of the Sultan, who seems to have been anxious to behold with his own eyes an individual of



that strange race of beings who had formerly been so severe a scourge to the Ottoman empire. After putting several questions to him, which the Cossack answered with equal boldness and sincerity, he asked him, what were the numbers of his people. "Sire," replied the chief, "they are as numerous as the grains of sand on the sea shore: each grain covers a multitude of others." He was dismissed with presents. It appears that they carefully concealed the true amount of their population. As, after the war with Turkey, they again continued to seduce the peasantry of the great nobles from their allegiance to their feudal lords, the latter, exasperated at the incessant defection of their vassals, commenced a still harsher system of oppression than before, towards the authors of these vexations. Several partial revolts ensued in consequence. The Cossacks were defeated by Konietzpol'ski, and by others of the Polish generals, who, however, failed to turn their victories to profitable account. The centre of the Cossack power was at that time established at Czerkask (Tcherkaske), defended by precipices and inaccessible rocks: they had 50,000 excellent troops under arms, and a large flotilla on the celebrated islands of the Dnieper; and this force they, on emergency, easily augmented by fresh levies of trained recruits. After the victory gained by the Polish general Konietzpol'ski over the Cossacks at Kumeyki, and the execution of their chiefs, the Diet of 1635 deprived them of the city of Trchtymirov, abolished their privileges, sup-

pressed their militia, and declared their territory reunited for ever to Poland. But to publish decrees of this kind, with any prospect of having them obeyed, requires an accompanying power of being able to carry them into effect. Poland had at this period several other wars in hand; the Cossacks were rather scattered and dispersed than definitively vanquished; added to which, an event altogether unexpected exercised the most fatal influence on this unfortunate war. The circumstances of this new subject of political disaster are of sufficient interest to merit particular mention.

Sinevoy Boghdan Khmielnitski was the son of a Polish gentleman of Mazovia, who had, in order to repair his shattered fortune, formed an establishment in the Ukraine, near Tcheghrine. Successful at first, he was subsequently taken prisoner, and died a captive in Turkey. His son shared the fate of his parent. Previously to his being taken prisoner, the elder Khmielnitski had maltreated and caused to be flogged in the Ukraine a young and high-spirited Pole, Czaplinski, who, in consequence, had vowed deadly and implacable hatred against him, but had not had sufficient time to avenge the insult. Boghdan Khmielnitski, after the death of his father, had been ransomed by the liberality of the Polish king, Ladislas IV., of whose favour he subsequently proved himself worthy, by the extent of his knowledge and his great capacity, both military and political. He was appointed secretary-general of the Zaporogues, a post of considerable importance, and he

resided on the patrimonial estate of his father at Sobotof, a domain the value and productiveness of which he greatly improved by the cultivation of fresh districts of land, hitherto lying waste, and by his industry. Whilst thus engaged, Czaplinski, then pidotsrosta of Czegryn, excited by the still nourished thirst for revenge, persecuted him with unremitting animosity. Not content with thwarting his plans of territorial improvement, and contesting with him the advantages justly derivable from a superior system of management, he proceeded so far as to attack him in his own house, burn it, throw him into prison, and offer outrage to his wife. Khmielnitski, on his release from prison,<sup>b</sup> found that in the meantime his wife had died of grief. Unable to obtain justice from the local tribunals, he repaired to the Zaporogues, and raised the standard of revolt at the head of 50,000 men. With these, making his appearance in the Ukraine, he was forthwith proclaimed chief of all the Cossacks of the Dnieper. He attacked and took by assault several towns in succession, and at the outset obtained many signal advantages over the Polish generals, who were forced to yield to superior numbers. Either as a *ruse*, or from some other motive not explained, he addressed to King Ladislas a letter, couched in the most humble and submissive terms, ascribing his hostile proceedings to the sole desire of avenging the affront to which he had been subjected, and promising to lay down his arms, and to return to his allegiance, provided the condition of the Cossacks

were ameliorated, and himself pardoned. As Ladislas IV. had just then (1648) died, this letter remained unanswered; meanwhile the forces of Khmielnitski increased daily, so that in a very short time he found himself at the head of a vast body of adherents. John Kasimir, who had now ascended the Polish throne, had at this period a variety of other wars in hand, and was moreover sufficiently occupied and distracted by the internal dissensions of his own kingdom. Khmielnitski, after having proclaimed the emancipation of the peasants, called the Cossacks of the Don to arms, increased his army by a strong reinforcement of Tatar troops, and, having taken several places by assault, crowned his exploits by the indiscriminate massacre of all the Polish nobles and of the Jews. He ransomed Leopold, and, after having married the widow of his former persecutor Czaplinski, he advanced with 400,000 men to annihilate the remnant of the Polish armies. This war was conducted on either side with relentless cruelty, and in the savage spirit of a struggle for mutual extermination, the more especially as it was to some extent a species of religious warfare; the schismatics of the Russian provinces favouring the cause of Khmielnitski. Never indeed had Poland found herself placed in a position of such imminent danger. Her assailant was already master of a third part of the kingdom; giving public audience to foreign ambassadors from the principal courts of Europe, and deigning scarcely to listen to the various propositions for an amicable

arrangement which were submitted to him. Already had he meditated the project of falling suddenly, like a second Attila, upon Europe, and of conquering for himself a new empire by relinquishing Poland; when his victorious career was at once arrested by the heroic courage and surprising energy of a Polish noble, Andrew Firley, castellan of Betz, near Zbaraz. This nobleman had but 9,000 men under his command. Zbaraz is a small town of Lower Podolia, situated at the conjunction of two roads; its population numbered at that period but a few thousand souls. Firley, foreseeing that he would very shortly be attacked, repaired the old fortifications, laid in a competent supply of stores and ammunition, strengthened his camp by an entrenchment, and took the requisite measures for securing from sudden attack a small pond or natural tank in the neighbourhood, the waters of which sufficed for the requirements of his little army. To his prudence and valour it was that, on the near approach of the coming storm, the Polish king had confided the important charge of arresting the progress of Khmielnitski, and of awaiting with some other Polish troops the first arrival of the enemy: nor was ever task more faithfully accomplished or royal confidence more judiciously placed than on this occasion.

Scarcely had Firley taken up his position and completed his entrenchments, when the Cossack and Tatar armies surrounded him on all sides: instead, however, of tamely surrendering, he resolved to defend

himself to the last extremity. Khmielnitski and the Tatar Khan glanced in anticipated triumph from the aspect of the immense forces at their command to the comparatively insignificant strength of the small Polish army before them ; and with a smile of disdain made certain of destroying the latter in the course of an hour's engagement. Too confident of victory, Khmielnitski, willing to prevent the effusion of blood, summoned Firley to surrender, assuring him of kind treatment, and of the highest regard for his courage, which he held to be unimpeachable. Firley returned for answer, that he had only to come and take them ; upon which several columns of infantry were instantly set in motion, fifty pieces of cannon opened their fire upon the Polish camp, and 60,000 Cossacks, commanded by Khmielnitski in person, and led by skilful and experienced officers, mounted to the assault. They were, however, repulsed with considerable loss. The Tatars and Don-Cossacks now followed in their turn but with no better success, and their dead bodies choked up the ditches. Khmielnitski, anxious to avoid the protracted delays of a siege in form, and to animate his troops by the excitement of a victory, gave orders to resume the assault. Column after column pressed forward to attack the entrenchment, but the incessant and well-directed fire of the besieged rendered unavailing every effort of the assailants, whose dense masses were every moment thinned by the terrific discharges of grape-shot and musketry brought to bear upon them

by Firley, upon whom these repeated onslaughts failed to make the slightest impression. Irritated and exasperated rather than discouraged, Khmielnitski now issued orders to concentrate the principal attack in the direction of the pond, a point of the Polish camp which appeared less strongly defended than other portions of the entrenched position, and where, consequently, a breach seemed more practicable. Eighty-five pieces of cannon were sent forward to cover this attack ; by the combined fire from these, the artillery of Firley was dismounted. Scaling-ladders were now everywhere applied, but a fearful discharge of musketry from the besieged, joined to the havoc caused by the explosion of a shower of shells and ignited hand-grenades hurled by them amongst their assailants, occasioned such great loss and confusion in the ranks of the latter, that the assault was once more repelled ; Khmielnitski himself, from motives of commiseration, giving the order to retreat, after having suffered in seventeen successive assaults enormous loss. The night passed off quietly. On the following day, a number of general assaults were attempted ; and the attack was pushed with so much vigour and pertinacity, that already the Cossacks were on the very point of carrying both the camp and town, when, at this critical juncture, Prince Visniövietiski cried aloud to spare the Tatars, since they had brought, by messengers from their khan, words of peace and goodwill, and were about to turn their arms against the

Cossacks. This stratagem had the desired effect; it revived the drooping courage of the besieged, and damped the ardour of the assailants; the Poles made a last desperate effort, and the enemy were repulsed. Khmielnitski, perceiving that his army began to murmur, and that it would be dangerous, for the moment at least, to renew the assault openly, had recourse to treachery, and despatched three secret emissaries, disguised in the Polish uniform, into Zbaraz, to sow discord in the camp, and to assassinate Firley: the attempt however failed, the plot was discovered, and the three spies quartered. He was compelled, therefore, to undergo all the delays and procrastinations of a regular siege. In a short time, immense works, directed by foreign officers and engineers, had brought the Cossacks into close proximity to the town. Formidable batteries were erected; in addition to which Khmielnitski gave orders to divert the course of a small river that fed the pond, in order to cut off the supply of water to the Polish army, and thereby deprive the besieged of a resource indispensable to their very existence. This project was not altogether impracticable, considering the then prevailing heat of the summer season; but it required time for its accomplishment, which, on the other hand, was not unattended with serious difficulties. Firley, who began already to feel the absolute necessity of economising his means of subsistence, was obliged to expel from the town all the women, children, and old men. The rest of the



inhabitants, even to the boys of the age of thirteen years, were armed and organized for the defence of Zbaraz. Scarcely had this wretched crowd of helpless beings quitted the entrenchments, when a brutal and ungovernable soldiery fell upon the women, whom they first maltreated; and afterwards, together with all that left Zbaraz, pitilessly and indiscriminately massacred, without regard to age or sex. At the sight of this atrocity, cries of rage and execration arose from within the ramparts; but it was already too late to afford succour to the miserable sufferers, and they all perished.

During the enemy's operations to divert the course of the river, Firley, now more than ever resolved to sell his life dearly, was not inactive; and as he united in his disposition an iron stubbornness of will with consummate skill in all branches of the art of war, he ordered some houses to be demolished, and on their site a second entrenchment to be constructed, immediately behind and parallel with the first: within this again a third, on the descent; and finally, an inner stockade of baggage-waggons and caissons, linked together by iron chains: he even made all requisite dispositions to defend himself and his men to the very last extremity, in the vaults and under-ground works of the fortifications. As soon as the small river had been intercepted, and a number of breaches made in the outworks, a heavy cannonade announced a fresh attack on the part of the Cossacks. Strong columns

of the enemy advanced to the storm; but when, after a vigorous resistance, the Cossack troops had carried the first intrenchment, they were not a little surprised at finding a second and a third, wherein they met with so warm a reception, that, bravely repulsed, and in their turn fiercely attacked and pursued, they left the streets of Zbaraz encumbered with the corpses of their slain, and with the bodies of their wounded comrades cut off in their retreat. In the intervals thus gained from attack, Firley ordered all the muskets and ammunition to be collected from the dead, and distributed but few rounds of cartridge to each of his men, in order that they might be thereby induced to take surer aim. He had recourse, moreover, to a singular stratagem, the success of which even surpassed his hopes. He had perforations made in the intrenchments; and in these apertures were planted several rows of muskets, well charged, and so arranged as not to be perceptible to the enemy. These muskets were all carefully levelled so as to tell with precision on the ranks of an assailant; and to each trigger was attached a string which led from other stronger ropes, disposed in such a manner as that on violently shaking the latter the muskets were discharged in volleys of fifteen at a time. To guard against an attack by surprise, the main cords of this species of "infernal machine" passed through holes under ground; that is to say, into the subterranean barracks or excavations beneath the intrenchments, wherein were lodged some of the

wounded and disabled from active service, who received the requisite instructions for the management of this novel means of defence.

For some days the besieged remained unmolested, but the waters of the pond continued to decrease visibly; the provision stores began to fail, threatening an absolute scarcity of food. The stifling heat of the weather, the great numbers of men cooped up together in a confined space, and more especially the want of proper nourishment, carried off the sick and wounded by hundreds. Many of the soldiers perished in defending the breach: all the messengers whom Firley despatched to the king to apprise him of the fearful position of the small garrison of Zbaraz, anxiously expecting every instant but in vain the arrival of reinforcements, were either taken or killed by the troops of Khmielnitski. To crown all these disasters, a putrid fever broke out amongst the besieged, and did more havoc in the Polish camp than did the balls of the enemy. Meanwhile, Firley continued to sustain the drooping courage of his countrymen, scarcely allowing himself time for sleep; present everywhere, providing with promptness and decision for every emergency, and constantly impressing on the minds of his companions in distress how preferable it was to die nobly in the breach, than to expire in lingering torment. After consuming all the horses, dogs, cats, rats, frogs, snakes, reptiles, and the miserable remnant of such food as desperation suggests or chance supplies, Firley, seeing that his garrison was

reduced to the very last extremity, ordered all the bodies of the young Cossacks recently killed to be collected, had them cut up and salted with gunpowder, and then distributed amongst his famishing troops. Some of these, indeed, testified an insurmountable repugnance to taste of this fare so novel and revolting ; but the rest, impelled by the imperious rage of hunger, were fain to follow the example set them by their chief himself. Monks, artisans, and priests, crowded to die in the breach. Occasionally, the Cossacks speculated on the chances of an assault : every day, towards evening, and at sunrise, whilst the Polish flag waved at the summit of the castle, was chaunted, to the sound of martial music, the solemn hymn to the Blessed Virgin, queen and patroness of Poland, to the intent that she might deliver the remnant of her brave people from their hapless fate : and many a time did the strains of this pious and warlike hymn revive the courage of the dying, and pour into the despairing soul the balm of cheering hope and the quietude of resignation.

The Cossacks, having heard of the misery that prevailed in the Polish camp, made, in the middle of the night, a last and desperate effort to surprise it. They forced the first, second, and third intrenchments ; they were already on the point of butchering the wounded ; already had they raised their cry of triumph ; when, at a given signal, the report of fire-arms was heard in their rear : they fell by hundreds, and these incessant and murderous discharges fully impressed them with the

belief that they were being attacked by some new enemy, whereupon they turned about and fled, the garrison making a sortie and pursuing them. The day broke, and an arrow, shot by some unknown hand, fell in the centre of the Polish camp: it bore an inscription announcing the arrival of the king with reinforcements. The arrow and its tidings were, at first, looked upon as a stratagem of the enemy, but soon the continued movements perceptible amongst the hostile troops, and the evident symptoms of disorder in the Cossack and Tatar armies, left no further doubt as to something of the kind having happened. The arrow had been sent by a Polish noble, who, in resentment of an affront, had joined the standard of Khmielnitski: but the important intelligence he had forwarded to Firley, and the good service he had rendered the king by transmitting to him news of the fearful state to which the garrison of Zbaraz was reduced, procured him a free pardon for his desertion to the enemy. Firley had completely exhausted his stock of gunpowder and ball, so that his garrison could not possibly have held out longer. The king of Poland, John Kasimir, was now actually advancing to its relief, and had already reached Zborof, a small town not far from Leopold.

Khmielnitski and the Tatar khan having learned that the army of the Polish king consisted of but barely 20,000 men, imagined that this was a new prey for them to devour; the more easily too as the royal army did not occupy any fortified position. Leav-

ing, therefore, 45,000 Tatars and 200,000 Cossacks before the intrenchments of Zbaraz, they marched upon Zborof with 60,000 Tatars, and 100,000 Cossacks, the *elite* of both armies, and a strong force of artillery. They soon arrived, under cover of a thick fog, close upon the royal army, before the latter had warning of their approach. Scarcely had they sufficient time to form into battalion, when they found themselves assailed on every side. A canal, confined by a high bank, protected their rear; but this embankment having been broken through, the rear-guard, violently attacked, lost their baggage trains. The moment was critical for the fate of Poland. Neither the Tatars nor the Cossacks were able to force the centre and the right wing, where they were repulsed with immense loss; but the left wing, raked by the artillery and attacked by overwhelming numbers, after losing all its officers, was exposed to the greatest danger. Thither the king hastened, and his presence revived the spirit of the soldiers, who performed prodigies of valour.

Nightfall brought no cessation to the fury of the assailants: during the construction of a rampart with the heaped-up bodies of the slain, the Polish generals convoked a council of war, wherein a resolution was come to, confirmed by an oath, either to conquer or die. Further, it was decided, that measures should be taken to detach the khan from the Cossack alliance. When daylight dawned on this terrible night, the battle was renewed with increased determination on

either side. Whilst a hand-to-hand conflict, sustained by all the rancour of mutual hate and animosity, was raging with deadly force amongst the combatants, whole ranks were swept away at once by the fearful discharges of artillery. Ultimately, however, the immense superiority in numbers was forced to yield to the steady power of military tactics, and the resistless courage of despair. The Poles were victorious on all points. Khmielnitski having received unfavourable news from Lithuania, where Prince Radziwill was everywhere defeating the Cossacks with terrific energy, and having reason, from hour to hour, to expect the arrival of that victorious general with 15,000 troops to reinforce the royal army; finding, moreover, that the khan of the Tatars had withdrawn his support from the Cossack cause, and had actually concluded an armistice with the Polish king; Khmielnitski, thus hampered and thwarted in his plans, found himself under the necessity of likewise agreeing to a suspension of hostilities, and of soliciting, in person, his pardon from the king; an event which afforded some temporary respite to unhappy Poland. The convention of Zborof (17th August, 1649,) was by no means favourable to Khmielnitski himself. He was therein treated as a rebellious subject, compelled to disband his army, and forbidden for the future to receive deserters or refugees; he was to be permitted to retain no greater number than 40,000 registered Cossacks—and these merely for the defence of the frontiers, conformably

to the ancient stipulations settled by King Batory. But on the other hand, an amnesty was granted to all the Cossacks, who were to be permitted in future to elect their own attamans and to distil brandy: they were also to have the right of hunting and fishing throughout the south of the Ukraine; they were to enjoy the free exercise of their religion; and a promise was even made them to admit to the Senate and to the Diet a Cossack, with the title of Palatine of Kiow, as likewise a metropolitan of the Greek religion. Further, there was accorded to each registered Cossack, a ducat in money, together with sufficient cloth for his dress.

Scarcely had the Tatars and Khmielnitski retreated, when the king's troops made their appearance before Firley's camp. At the aspect of the national banners waving in the air, near Zbaraz, all attempts to preserve order and discipline in the garrison became useless. A crowd of living spectres rushed into the embraces of their brethren in arms. Some, exhausted by long suffering and privation, expired with excess of joy. Shortly afterwards, masses were performed, to render thanksgiving to Heaven for the miraculous deliverance of this band of heroes; but many of the inhabitants of Zbaraz never more were blessed with the sight of wife, mother, sisters, or children. This celebrated defence, one of the most obstinate and determined of its kind in the seventeenth century, earned for its leader, Firley, immortal fame; afforded time to the



king of Poland to detach, by means of skilfully directed intrigues, the Tatar troops from the Cossack alliance; reawakened the energies of the Polish nation; and thereby, most probably saved all Europe from a terrible invasion on the part of the barbarian tribes, not less dangerous than had been formerly that of Attila or of Ghengiz-Khan. Khmielnitski and the Tatars lost in twenty-nine attacks on Zbaraz, and in the battle of Zborof, upwards of 50,000 of their best troops, and the best part of their artillery. There was in Firley's camp a priest, Mucheveski, stationed at the gate of the castle, who, with his single carabine, shot down upwards of two hundred Cossacks, according to Pastorius; himself receiving several wounds. Firley was presented with a starosty, as a reward for his signal exploit; but, beyond this, history is silent as regards his subsequent career. It is only by such another man that Poland can once more be freed. The Firley family is of British origin; ranking, however, amongst the most illustrious of the Polish nobility. It has produced several warriors, a few statesmen, and a host of beautiful women. There were yet remaining, in Austrian Galicia, a few surviving descendants of this distinguished family; and there may still be found, if indeed they have not been massacred by the peasantry in the late insurrection of the latter against the nobles. Many historians consider the defence of Zbaraz by Firley one of the most surprising military achievements upon record.

The convention of Zbaraz was highly displeasing to the Polish nobility, as being too favourable to the Cossacks. Complaints on the subject were in consequence made to the Diet; but the king, unshaken in his purpose, appeared more obstinately bent than ever on having it observed. In a short time, however, Khmielnitski, still protesting his good intentions, fanned anew the embers of discord: setting on foot a variety of intrigues, now with Turkey, now with the Court of Russia, on his own account; and after promising the Sultan to yield him up the Ukraine, on certain conditions—amongst others, that he might expel the hospodar of Moldavia, as being too favourably disposed towards Poland—he openly and without any previous declaration of war invaded the latter province, of which he made himself master. Scarcely had the hospodar sufficient time to take refuge, with a few troops, in those vast forests which had so often been the tomb of an invading foe. From this retreat, however, he shortly afterwards emerged, after paying a heavy ransom to Khmielnitski, to whose son, moreover, he promised to give his daughter in marriage. This invasion spread alarm once more throughout Poland; more especially as Khmielnitski, under the pretext of aiding the khan of the Tatars in an invasion against the Circassians, was levying fresh troops; and as one of his subaltern chiefs, Nitchai, about this time made an irruption into Podolia; where however, beaten, pursued, and his forces cut to pieces, he perished,

together with his adherents. Although these irruptions were disavowed by Khmielnitski, two Polish divisions, one of them under the orders of Kalinowski, and the other under Potocki, advanced upon the Ukraine and Podolia. There existed, moreover, another ground of quarrel. The disbanded Cossacks would not allow the peasants to cultivate the soil, nor the seigneurs to reside on the estates of these districts. A deputation of Cossacks sent to negotiate with the king, made such extravagant demands and proposals so insolent, that John Kasimir himself changed his mind regarding them; and having learned that the Cossacks were about voluntarily to submit themselves to Turkey, he immediately raised 50,000 fresh troops, convoked the *Pospolite ruszenie*, or general muster of the nobles, and marched against Khmielnitski; whilst Radziwill, almost invariably successful against the Cossacks, guarded Lithuania.

The royal troops thought to take Khmielnitski by surprise; when, to their astonishment, that chief, having collected immense forces, suddenly made his appearance within a thousand paces of the Polish army. On making this discovery, the king fell back and took up his position near Beresteczko, on the bank of the river Styr, in Volhynia; having on the one hand that river as his point-d'appui, and on the other, a hilly ground, which he bristled with infantry. He had all the bridges destroyed, in order to leave no possibility of retreat.

As this battle would decide the fate of the Cossacks, and as Khmielnitski, during the two days' skirmishing which preceded it, had become convinced that the Polish army was more numerous than usual, he seemed inclined to avoid the chances of a general engagement. The king, who penetrated his design, thereupon ordered his army to form in line of battle—a manœuvre which was effected under cover of a dense fog. The right wing was commanded by the Grand-Hetman Pototski, who had under him the illustrious Sobieski, just arrived from his recent journey into France, and who was shortly to adorn the Polish crown with the added glories of his immortal fame. The left wing was confided to the command of General Kalinowski, supported by the Princes Ostrogoki and Visniövietski, two noblemen of approved bravery serving under him, the king taking charge of the centre, and having in front of his line the Polish and German infantry, as likewise the artillery under the direction of Przyemski, a veteran Swedish general. The second line was composed of a superb body of cavalry, amongst whom was the king in person. The third portion of the line formed a reserve, under the orders of Prince Charles, brother to the king, and of a French colonel, Duplessis, whose skill and daring had become proverbial. In the rear of these main bodies were posted a few regiments of light infantry, whilst the whole was hedged in with a forest of lances, the floating pennants from

which spread further than the eye could reach, and formed a spectacle at once imposing and fantastic. The Polish army numbered 100,000 men.

The enemy's force consisted of 350,000 men: its numbers were lost in the distance, and presented the appearance of living waves, tossing to and fro on the agitated surface of a tempest-torn ocean. The Cossacks drawn up facing the left wing of the Polish army were intermixed with Turkish troops. Several rows of chariots, linked firmly together by iron chains, called *tabor*, and defended by picked men, formed their centre; on both wings and on all the neighbouring heights were the innumerable Tatar squadrons, ranged in the form of a half-moon or single crescent. The fog had just dispersed, and the rays of a bright sun disclosed to mutual view the two armies, surprised and motionless, in front of each other. Since the days of Timur-lenk had the like for importance and extent been seen. After a few seconds of deep and solemn silence had elapsed, forty-eight pieces of field-artillery, under Przyemski, opened a deadly fire; the ranks of the enemy were visibly thinned by the discharge, and the entire Polish army rushed upon the Cossacks, who were the principal object of attack; these, after a vigorous defence, broken at last by the fury of the Polish charge, took refuge behind their iron-bound chariots, leaving their Tatar allies openly exposed to the murderous fire of the artillery, beneath which they fell by whole squadrons at a time. Com-

pelled to regain the heights from which they had descended, the Tatars rallied again at first, but when all around the khan had been either killed or wounded, that chief gave way: his best squadrons dispersed, and towards nightfall took to flight, pursued by the Polish cavalry; leaving behind them their camp, their baggage, and their prisoners, as also an immense booty, the whole of which fell into the hands of the victorious Poles. Khmielnitski strove in vain to arrest their retreat, and with this view rode after the Tatars; but the khan, after reproaching him with his deception in having given him a false report of the strength of the Polish army, had him arrested, and even threatened to deliver him up to the Polish king, unless he consented to indemnify him, the khan, for the losses he had sustained in consequence, by delivering to him one half of all the booty which the Cossack chief had realized in the immediately preceding campaign against Poland. The absence of Khmielnitski threw the Cossack army, still 200,000 strong, into a state of paralyzing uncertainty. Batteries were erected all around them and they fell by hundreds. After making some unsuccessful sorties, the Cossacks, weakened by two days' fighting, were as a body completely dispersed: the small remnant of their but lately innumerable forces, entrenched themselves on a neighbouring island, where, obstinately refusing to surrender, they were exterminated to the very last man.

In this brilliant action, which lasted three successive

days, and which destroyed the Cossack power in Poland, the Poles sustained but very trifling loss. Forty thousand Cossacks and Tatars were left dead on the field of battle ; sixty pieces of cannon, all their baggage trains and banners, together with an immense collection of booty, fell into the hands of the conquerors, as trophies of their victory. The king committed a great oversight in not following up to the very last in pursuit of the flying enemy. The Cossacks were allowed to effect their retreat comparatively unmolested, and the victor was content with a mere restriction of their privileges. Khmielnitski, however, soon made his re-appearance in arms, raised once more the standard of revolt, and even with some partial success at first : but was again defeated, after having in vain solicited the protection of Turkey and Sweden, who, at the same time that they refused him their support, advised him to place no reliance whatever on Russia. He ultimately changed his line of policy as regarded the establishment of the Cossacks as an independent state : and having received information that Prince Radziwill had just at this period annihilated his best troops in Lithuania, and that the Tatar khan had entered into a treaty with the king of Poland, whereby he undertook to pursue the Cossacks in every direction and to break up their settlements, on condition of his Polish majesty's aiding him to reconquer the Khanat in the kingdom of Astrakhan, subjugated a century before by the Czar Ivan IV., — conscious, moreover,

that he was in no condition to struggle single-handed against Poland, Khmielnitski, on the 6th January, 1654, concluded at Pereaslav a convention with the Czar Alexy Michalovitch, by the terms of which a portion of the Ukraina, together with its Cossack population, submitted under certain conditions to the dominion of Russia. The conformity of creed in matters of religion existing between the two nations, the desire to furnish, elsewhere, employment for the turbulent activity and restless enterprise of the Cossack hordes, joined to an inclination to enjoy at his ease the sweets of power—by no means an object of easy attainment in Poland—would seem to have been the principal motives for his taking this rash and imprudent step, in direct opposition to the advice of Charles Gustavus, king of Sweden, and against the wish and opinion of many of the Cossacks themselves.

It may be as well here to remark, that when Khmielnitski advised the czar to attack Poland, the latter, willing at the same time both to play upon the superstitious feelings of the common people, and to have his still wavering decision confirmed by some favourable omen, had a couple of wild bulls brought before him; one of these bore the name of Poland the other Muscovy: the larger and more powerful of the two was the champion of Russia. The bulls were then let loose upon each other: in the event of the Polish bull being crushed by his adversary, then Alexy was to be considered as fulfilling orders from on high. At



first the superior activity of the Polish bull gave him some advantage over his more ponderous assailant, and he parried the attack of the Russian bull; but the latter, infuriated by resistance, redoubled his efforts, and by dint of his overwhelming strength overthrew the former, and was on the point of being proclaimed the conqueror, when suddenly the Polish bull, whom every one supposed to be nearly dead, started up again on his legs, rushed with resistless fury on his antagonist, buried his horns in his flank, and stretched him lifeless on the arena. This circumstance, related by several writers, made such an impression on the mind of Alexy, that it became necessary to set in motion the intrigues of the courtiers, and even of the metropolitan himself, in order to force him to invade Poland. As for the Cossacks, naturally a superstitious race, it was for them an infallible prognostic of the ultimate victory that must one day be achieved by Poland over Russia. As Khmielnitski had not the right of disposing of the Ukraine, a war with Russia ensued, and, after much bloodshed, and the loss by the Cossacks of several battles, a portion of Ukania was restored to Poland.

Although, in accordance with the convention of Pereaslav, between the czar and Khmielnitski, the latter took possession of the Russian Ukraine, as a fief of Muscovy, yet on behalf of the Cossacks, whom, as his *protégés*, he erected into a species of separate nation, they were in reality much less independent than

they had formerly been whilst under the dominion of Poland. The Russians personified despotism itself; the Cossacks, on the contrary, the essence of freedom: their customs, their character, their Magdeburg code of laws, under which their government was carried on, all gave umbrage to the Russians.

When we reflect on the conduct of Khmielnitski, we cannot but admit that he possessed in an eminent degree the talent of adapting his measures to the peculiar disposition and manners of the Cossacks; that he possessed over them a great ascendancy and controlling influence; but it is nevertheless equally evident that he never intended definitely to separate himself from Poland, either because he still secretly cherished in his bosom a remnant of affection towards his native land, or that he foresaw that a race of men, who exist but for rapine and plunder, and who seem to have a decided repugnance to establishing themselves anywhere as a settled community, do not possess within themselves the requisite elements for constituting a separate nation. Khmielnitski, it is true, took signal vengeance for his wrongs, but he dealt an almost mortal blow to Poland, and would appear subsequently to have bitterly repented his conduct in so doing; since, on his death-bed, after having summoned together the principal Cossack leaders, and returned them thanks for their devotion to his cause, he uttered these memorable words: "*I have committed towards God a grievous sin, in having betrayed the Cossack people to the Czar Alexy: it were better that*

*they should confide in the Turks, or even in the Tatars themselves, than in the good faith of Russia. Return back then, Cossacks, to Poland, and continue for ever united to her."* After pronouncing this address he expired, on the 15th of August, 1656.

After his death the Cossacks alternately, as occasion offered, returned to their allegiance to Poland, or submitted to the Turks; now allying themselves once more with Russia, now breaking out into fresh revolts, which deluged the country with torrents of blood. All the efforts of an historian would be unequal to the task of describing the endless intrigues and convulsions by which they were incessantly agitated. Although Russia held out to them the hope of something like independence, she never in reality entertained the slightest idea of fulfilling her promises to the Cossacks in this respect. She on the contrary abrogated their privileges, and suppressed the Cossack settlements in Lesser Russia.

Outrages similar to those perpetrated by Czaplinski could not be tolerated anywhere. Had he been punished with death in Khmielnitski's presence the terrible rebellion of the Cossacks under his sway would never have happened. On the other side, had Khmielnitski's father not shamefully illtreated Czaplinski, the latter would probably never have committed such enormities at Khmielnitski's house, and never avenged on the son the insults to which he had been subjected by the father. Those also who are acquainted with the recesses of the human heart, are well aware, that a

proud man may forgive many things, but scorn never ; and that there are offences which are never forgiven.

More than once we have seen that private quarrels often exercised a fatal influence on the destiny of large empires. Such things produce generally a terrible commotion when the offender is too powerful to be dealt with openly ; and the more powerful he is, the more his injuries are resented. Even time, instead of diminishing, only increases the thirst for revenge.

Khmielnitski, after his defection from Poland, usurped the Polish title of hetman, which nowhere now exists but among the Cossacks. The dignity of grand hetman, which corresponds to that of field-marshal, or general-in-chief, existed till the last partition of Poland. The supreme military title among the Cossacks, granted to the latter by the Polish kings, and known among the Cossacks themselves, was Attaman Koshovy, or only Koshovy ; Attaman Kourenny, or Kourenny only, corresponding with the title of colonel, with some higher distinctions.

After the defection of Khmielnitski from Poland and his death, a Cossack chief, Samoilovitch, taking advantage of a disastrous treaty between Poland and Russia in 1686, by which not only the Polish territory at the east of the Dnieper, but even the important town of Kïof was given up to the latter power, prevailed, by Russian intrigues, on great numbers of Polish Cossacks settled on the western bank of that river to emigrate with him to Russia in 1675, under the plea of

finding great advantages for them in the Russian Ukraine, where lands were actually distributed to them in the Steppes, and high-sounding promises made them by order of the czar. This emigration, which may be considered as one of the most important after the death of Khmielnitski, was undertaken more from religious than from political motives, as the Cossacks on all important occasions have invariably shown a greater predilection to Poland than to Russia, on account of their attachment to liberty and democracy.

Wars between Poland and Russia on account of the Cossacks have been incessant. The continual emigration of the Cossacks to both countries became an apple of discord between Poland and Russia till the complete suppression of the Zaporogues before the partition of Poland: though some of the Polish Cossacks were still to be found in the Ukraine. If, on one side, during the beginning of their political existence the Cossacks were useful to Poland; on the other, their piratical expeditions and rapine in Turkey were chiefly the cause of many wars with the Ottomans; while their numerous rebellions cost rivers of blood. The persecution of their religious creed, chiefly attributed to the bigotry of the Jesuits who governed the weak Sigismund III., and the oppression to which they were subjected by the Polish grandees, sapped the political existence of Poland. As there was a time when all the Cossacks were inclined to be incorporated completely with Poland, it was as necessary to invest them cau-

tiously with the privileges of the Polish nobles as to exterminate them completely.

The general characteristics of the Cossacks appear to be their predilection for a wandering life, love of rapine, a wild passion for democracy, and a liberty they know not how to use. A Cossack will endure any climate, and is remarkable for the instinct by which he finds his way in the wildest tracts. With noisy demonstrations of joy in successes, they combine sudden depression of spirits in reverses, and their passions are easily excited, being governed rather by impulse than by reason. The generality of the Cossacks are of middle size but of robust constitution, enduring hunger, thirst, fatigue, and want of sleep, with astonishing hardihood. They have mostly auburn or red hair, blue sunken eyes, and Asiatic features: cunning and patient in stratagem, they are at the same time proud and hospitable. They are rather a peculiar race than a distinct nation, whose ultimate destiny, assigned them by Providence, is, probably, not yet fulfilled.

See Lessur's *Histoire des Cosaques*; Chevalier's *Guerre des Cosaques*; Pastorius; Niemcewicz; Beauplan; Sherer *Annales de la Petite Russie*; Pologne Pittoresque; Brown on the Cossacks; Pamietniki; Hetmana Zulkiewskiego, &c., &c.

See on Razin, L'Eveque; Lessur; Relation of the rebellion of Razin, British Museum, &c., &c.

See on Mazeppa, Life of Peter the Great, Charles XII., Nuremberg, &c. &c.

## CHAPTER II.

## REBELLION OF STENKO RAZIN.

Stenko Razin—Obscurity of his early History—His Oath of Vengeance against Russia—His Retreat at the Mouth of the Iaïk—Amnesty with Russia—Again Revolts—His Popularity—Attack on Astrakhan—Its Capture—Stenko Razin's ambitious Design—His Stratagem and Successes—Head-quarters of Prince Dolgorouki—Horrible Execution of the Rebels—Stenko betrayed by Yakolof—His Execution, and extraordinary Firmness—Restoration of Tranquillity.

THE very first act of the Russian supremacy over the Cossacks of the Ukraine was by no means of good augury for the future, as we shall prove by a description of the rebellion.

The origin of Stenko Razin, and the manner in which he spent his youthful days, are by no means well known, and seem to be enveloped in mystery. In almost all the books written concerning him he is described as a Don Cossack, but the termination of his surname is purely foreign: still, as neither the place of his birth, nor the name of Cossack Stanitza (commune) to which he belonged, is mentioned, it is possible that either he emigrated with Khmielnitski from Poland to Russia, in his childhood, or joined his Cossacks from more distant regions.

Prince Dolgorouki, who commanded in the Russian Ukraine, was desirous of retaining a Cossack regiment for some time longer than he was warranted in doing by the stipulations agreed upon with the Cossacks, who had just previously thrown themselves into the arms of Russia, and which stipulations had been formally ratified by the Czar Alexy. The soldiers refused to remain, and with their colonel, Razin, at their head, marched off home. The Russian general had the colonel seized, brought privately back to the Russian camp, and there hanged under his own eyes. This colonel had a brother, named Stenko Razin, a simple Cossack soldier in the ranks, but whose lofty and enterprising character, uncommon courage, strength of body, and skill in military affairs, greatly distinguished him above all the rest of his companions. Indignant at the infamous treatment experienced by his brother, he swore an oath of vengeance for the injury, and to extend that vengeance to all that bore the name of Russian. For the moment, however, he managed to restrain his feelings, and, under the appearance of submission, to gain the favour of his superiors, whilst at the very time he was secretly nourishing the flames of discord, and spreading the seeds of revolt. Under the pretext of avenging their outraged religion, he assembled a body of his companions, and proceeded privately with them towards the Don, in order, as he gave out, to free all the Cossacks from the Muscovite yoke. Pursued by superior forces, he pushed forward to the



Volga, and, after having taken the command of all the robbers and banditti there congregated, and of as many Cossacks as he could gather together, he attacked and took possession of a rich *caravanne*, which the czar was sending to Persia, escorted by one of his favourites; enrolled such of the soldiers as were willing to enter his service, and had all the rest massacred without pity, together with their officers. He then descended the Volga, gained the shores of the Caspian Sea, and surprised the town of Gourief, at the mouth of the Iaïk (now Ouralsek). The fame of his robberies and his victories brought him a numerous accession of partisans and of vagabonds attracted by the hope of plunder. Prince Khilkuf, the governor of Astrakhan, alarmed at his success, sent him a deputation of officers to offer him a free pardon, on condition of his returning to his allegiance to the czar. Razin received these officers at first with great politeness, and then had them all put to death in his presence. The governor, having some misgiving as to their fate, despatched a regular division of the army, under Siverof, against Stenko Razin; but the latter, still retreating, enticed his pursuer into a disadvantageous position, and cut his army to pieces. He then attacked and took by surprise the town of Iatskoy (Ouralsk), where he had all the officers hanged, and all the soldiers who refused to submit to his orders massacred. In this fortified position, at the extremity of Russia, surrounded by fearful deserts, and by savage hordes impatient of the Muscovite yoke,

he used every possible means to attach the half-savage Cossacks of the Iaïk to his cause. He organised and disciplined his troops, increased his flotilla, and, anticipating that he must very shortly be attacked, despatched emissaries in all directions to rouse the spirit of insurrection. He descended the Volga, seized upon all the merchant-vessels, and annihilated the Russian fleet, that had just been sent out against him. He attacked Persia, after having augmented his forces by the incorporation with them of another famous band of Cossack corsairs, led by Krivoy, who came voluntarily to place himself and followers under his orders. In the course of a very short time they, together, sacked several towns, and beat the Persian army, giving out that they so did by order of the czar. As, however, the united force of Persia threatened to crush them at once, they retreated towards the mouth of the Iaïk, amongst the islands, or rather forests, of reeds and osier-beds, which there formed an asylum inaccessible to any other vessels save their own light barks, and where they made provision of food, ammunition, and military stores, previously to recommencing their piracies and excursions for propagating rebellion.

But the Russian court having by this time received information of their robber-like exploits, deposed Khilkuf, and ordered the governor of Astrakhan, Prince Prozorowskoi to set out immediately in pursuit of the two chiefs; and to hunt them down without mercy or intermission. Aware of their place of

retreat, he had the river closed up in the narrow parts with strong iron chains, and landed a body of troops in the rear of the Cossacks; he likewise sent forward a squadron of well-armed ships of war, manned by his best sailors, to exterminate the Cossack pirates. Stenko Razin, thus suddenly enclosed as in a trap—destitute, moreover, of sufficient stores and ammunition to enable him to hold out for any continuance—despatched confidential envoys to Prince Prozorowskoi, with proposals of surrender, and of consecrating, like a second Yermak, his talents and the remainder of his life to the service of the czar, provided he was assured of pardon for his past acts of rebellion. But at the same time that he was making these proposals, which he had every reason to anticipate would be rejected, he took every possible measure within his power, to either conquer or perish in the struggle. Whether it was that Prozorowskoi hoped to turn his submission to some account, or that the chances of a sea-fight with such experienced corsairs as Razin and his followers, so often victorious, and now reduced to despair, appeared to him somewhat too doubtful; the result was, that he accepted the latter's offer of submission. Stenko Razin was amnestied; and after he had renewed his oath of allegiance to the czar, was confirmed in the command of his troop of Cossacks, which were distributed along the banks of the Don. But what appears still more extraordinary, is the fact of the Czar Alexy never

having in the sequel violated this amnesty. The thirst for vengeance, however, still raged in the bosom of Stenko Razin; the dead body of his brother was incessantly before his eyes; he renewed his intrigues; he was now observed to make a great display of his riches,—to be prodigal of his money to his friends and partizans, whom he confidentially gave to understand, by mysterious hints, that he would shortly be in a condition to renew with them the former course of profitable expeditions. By all these manœuvres, joined to their natural impatience of an inactive life, and craving for booty, the eyes of all the Cossacks of the Don were gradually directed towards Stenko, who completely eclipsed the influence of Kornel Yakolof, their attaman.

Seeing that the time had now arrived for throwing aside the mask of submission, and for taking an attitude of independence, Razin gave the signal for action. From the banks of the Don to those of the Iaïk, nothing was now heard but one unanimous cry of “Long live Stenko! down with the Russians!” All the officers who had been set to watch the Cossacks disappeared. Stenko started up once more on the Volga. In possession of a new flotilla, he destroyed the merchant vessels, ravaged both banks of the river, and massacred all those who hesitated or refused to attach themselves to his fortunes. A regular body of Strelitzes, sent against him, instead of opposing his troops, introduced them

into the town of Tzaritchine, where all the Russians were put to the sword; whereupon adherents flocked from every direction to join his cause, and his forces thenceforward rapidly increased in numbers. A division of the Russian army, under Livof, despatched against him, revolted; massacred their officers, and enlisted under his orders. Another division, sent from Moscow, proved more faithful, but less fortunate; overpowered and cut to pieces, scarcely three men escaped. Tchernoiar opened its gates to the rebels. Prozorowskoi, shut up in Astrakhan, and anticipating a speedy attack, laid in a store of provisions, repaired the fortifications, took all possible measures to repel the assailants, and despatched courier after courier to Moscow, to solicit reinforcements. But symptoms of sedition already began to manifest themselves in the place; the soldiers mutinied, and demanded their pay, and the metropolitan opened his treasures in order to appease them.

In this state of things it was that Stenko Razin, dragging after him the scum and refuse of various robber nations, made his appearance before Astrakhan, and, assuming the mask of humanity, summoned the governor to throw open to him the gates of the city, in order to avoid pillage and massacre. The governor, by way of reply, had his messenger hanged from the battlements on the rampart. The bravest of the troops were now posted at the weakest points, and volleys of musketry were returned in answer to the insolent pro-

position. In a short time, however, thousands of scaling-ladders were applied to the walls: the Cossacks mounted them with surprising audacity: instead of resisting them, the Russian soldiers received them as brethren. The result may be easily foreseen. Some of the officers, who wished to recall the troops to their duty, were instantly set upon, and, together with all those who were most interested in the defence of the town, overpowered and put to the sword, their houses pillaged, their wives maltreated, and their children thrown out of the windows. Stenko himself, drunk with brandy and carnage, and covered all over with blood, ran through all the streets, poniard in hand, in search of Prozorowskoi, whom he at last discovered lying wounded in a church. He ordered him to be thrown, in his presence, from the top of a high tower. By a singular accident, his body, crushed and mutilated, fell close by that of his brother, who also was mortally wounded and expiring. He then had Prozorowskoi's two boys hanged by the heels, under the pretext that, after repeated questions put to them on the subject, they refused to discover where the government chest was deposited. The metropolitan, who endeavoured to protect them, was put to death. The mother of the two boys was spared. A general pillage wound up this eventful day, ever memorable for Astrakhan, wherein all the Tatars were spared, as being victims of Muscovite tyranny.

Now it was that, master of a city renowned for its

commerce, and of several fortresses, with a fleet and an army at the extremity of Russia, Stenko Razin meditated the overthrow of the Romanow dynasty, their expulsion from the Muscovite throne, the abolition of serfdom, the extermination of the noblesse of the empire, and the erection into independent principalities of all those provinces which Russia had recently and perfidiously seized from the Tatars and their allies, as likewise from other nations.

A variety of singular circumstances existing at the period seemed to favour this project; amongst others the quarrel between the Czar Alexy and the patriarch Nickon, whom he had just deposed, and the recent death of his eldest son and heir to the throne, against whom it was generally supposed his father had conceived a deeply-rooted hatred. Stenko Razin resolved to turn these incidents to account, and to excite the Cossacks and other superstitious subjects of the czar to rebellion by an appeal to their feelings of religious fanaticism. To this end he caused a rumour to be circulated that both the patriarch and the czarewicz, (the heir apparent) having escaped, by miracle, from their oppressor, had fled to him for protection and vengeance for their wrongs. In order to give confirmation to this rumour, he had two barks constructed, the one covered with red, and the other with black velvet. In the former was understood to be concealed the fugitive czarewicz,\* and in the latter the injured patriarch. The ruse succeeded to admiration. From this moment

Stenko was regarded by the multitude in no other light than as the guardian angel of religion and the champion of outraged liberty. All the fanatics, adventurers, and brigands, far and near, flocked to his standard, and his army already amounted to 100,000 men. In a short time he quitted Astrakhan, where he left 25,000 of his troops, and advanced up the Volga, to establish his head-quarters at Kazan, the ancient metropolis of the Tatars. On his way thither he took Saratof and Samarra, seizing on all the money he could find there, and putting all the Russian inhabitants to the sword. The whole of the Cossack and Tatar populations on his route, including the various scattered and barbarian hordes, inflamed by his proclamations, and headed by their respective chiefs, declared for him. All the country, from Astrakhan to Nizny Novograd, was sacked and pillaged; the nobles were massacred, their wives dishonoured, and their dwellings set on fire, till at last Sineberik succeeded in arresting their sanguinary and devastating march.

A division of the Russian army, under the orders of Miloflaskoy, who was instructed to retake Astrakhan, met with the rebels, whom they defeated; the latter retreated into the town, resolved to defend themselves to the last extremity, under the orders of Krivoy.

Stenko Razin, after having gained several victories over the Russians, began at last to meet with nothing but reverses: defeated by Prince Boratynskoy, and pursued by the very same Dolgorouki who had caused



his brother to be hanged in the Ukraine, he was overtaken by him just as he was, with his Cossacks, at the gates of Moscow, which would have been thrown open to him, had he not lost too much time in pillaging the provinces—a fatal delay, as the result proved, for Stenko, who, not having sufficient time to concentrate his army against Dolgorouki, was by that general surprised, and 15,000 men, the *elite* of his Cossack soldiers, suddenly fallen upon by superior numbers, were cut to pieces. Three times broken, three times they recovered the battle, but, panic-stricken at this unlooked-for disaster, the rebels fell from the height of confidence to the extremity of discouragement. The peasants returned to their several homes, the barbarian hordes fell off one after the other, and disappeared in the deserts, whilst the Cossacks, incessantly pursued by their victorious and implacable foes, who gave them no quarter, opposed but an ineffectual resistance. All the roads, towns, villages, passes, rivers, lakes, ponds, barns, and houses, were full of their mutilated bodies.

In the ancient town of Arsamas, in the country of the Morduates, the terrible Prince Sergue Dolgorouki established his head-quarters. In the suburbs of that town, on a level ground, was a large square field, where was established the merciless tribunal which pronounced judgment and immediate execution on the rebels. There was a tent, and some clergy of the Greco-Russian church, where mass was daily celebrated. Before the chapel was the likeness of the czar, before

whom every one was compelled to kneel. Behind the chapel was a rack, and on both sides of the rack were several rows of gallows, some miles in length, and instruments of torture ready for the unfortunate victims. The punishments were in accordance with the degree of culpability and station in society of the rebels. In the first row of gallows the most guilty were executed; after being subjected to the rack they were quartered alive. The leaders had their right hand and left leg cut off, and were afterwards impaled on long spikes, and left to their horrible fate. Their groans were heard for miles, and their bodies feasted the eyes of the panic-stricken population. In the second row of gallows they were only quartered, and their sufferings were at least shorter. In the third row, the parties were simply beheaded. In the fourth row, they were merely hanged. In the fifth, they ran the gauntlet and the knout. All the ecclesiastics were burned. There were separate gallows for women, married and maiden. Even children, from thirteen years, were subjected to great cruelty. Married couples were occasionally hanged on the same gallows, as well as whole families. During the space of three months 13,000 human beings were executed in the presence of Dolgorouki. Stenko Razin's nephew and his particular friend were quartered.

Among the female prisoners there was a handsome nun, who over her female garments had a male attire. She commanded a corps of 7000 men, gave more than

once proofs of extraordinary courage and great ability in the field, and inflicted terrible losses on the Russians. When summoned before Dolgorouki, she displayed a presence of mind and a firmness difficult to describe, and said, if every one under her command had done his duty in such a manner as she had done, Dolgorouki, instead of erecting the gallows, would have taken to his heels. As for a nun in Russia to run away from a monastery is a capital offence, she lay down quietly on a funeral pile, and was burned to ashes. The dangling dead bodies of so many thousand veterans brought many crows and ravens, which devoured the corpses. From that time that suburb is called the suburb of hell.<sup>b</sup>

The likeness of the czar, the artificial church, the Greco-Russian priests in their black dresses with their long beards, the inquisitive auricular confession, the rack, the gallows, the instruments of torture, and the executioners, bring involuntarily to mind the dark ages of Muscovite tyranny, which, partly subdued by the spirit of our more fortunate age and the rising star of western liberty, is not yet completely vanquished. Stenko Razin, persecuted, chased and hunted without a moment's repose upon the Volga, through the Steppes, through the wildest tracks, trying in vain to recall and rally the fugitives, who were not less frightened at the ignominious death of their comrades, than at the danger of that merciless struggle; seeing them partly disposed to deliver him up; daring not to enter Astrakhan;

arrived at the Don, requesting the hospitality of the Hetman Yakolof, and hinting at the possibility of planning new expeditions. But the latter, secretly offended against him, indignant at his cruelties, and wishing to take all possible advantage of that opportunity for ingratiating himself in the czar's favour, betrayed him, put him in irons, and delivered him to the Russians, with his brother Frolko. The latter, being well aware of the terrible torments reserved for them both, reproached him with all his misfortunes, shed abundant tears, and gave up his mind to despair. Stenko, whose spirit was not yet subdued, comforted him as well as he could, and said that the whole population of Moscow might yet liberate him, and hail him as their benefactor.

The czar, having been apprised of their conversation, and wishing to make a public example of him, ordered that he should enter the city in a mock triumph. A spacious cart, drawn by three mules, was accordingly sent to meet Stenko Razin a mile from the city. Here he was stripped of his fine silk clothes, put in rags, and chained by his neck and his two hands and feet to the hinder part of the cart, in which was a gallow, without being able to move, and attended by two executioners with their long axes. Thus, with his brother, who, chained by the neck, followed on foot, the cart entered at noon the metropolitan city. He was publicly executed in the citadel of Moscow, the 6th of June, 1671, having been quartered. To the last moment he never lost his firmness, but comforting his brother, mocked the

executioners ; invoking the ghost of his brother, whose death he avenged, as he said, and to whom he seems to have been most tenderly attached. When one of his legs and one of his hands were cut off, he was whistling, and died without manifesting the slightest sign of pain. When his brother Frolko was going to be executed, he showed great contrition, and requested to see the czar, to reveal to him only a secret of great importance. His execution was postponed, and he apprized the czar of hidden treasures, buried by his late brother in a particular spot. As the information was found to be correct he was reprieved.

After Stenko Razin's death, Astrakhan opened its gates to the Russians, and Krivoy, alias Devil's-feast, who wished longer to disturb the public peace, was poisoned by his own soldiers for his tyranny. The other attamans of the Cossacks were betrayed and delivered up by a Circassian prince to the Russians, and some adventurers who intended to follow Stenko's example in the neighbourhood were quartered. Prince Dolgorouki, who destroyed above 115,000 rebels including his executions, was recalled, and Prince Tcherniskif ultimately quelled to a great extent the serious rebellion, respecting which there are some contradictions. Some authors assert it was quelled in 1671, some in 1673, and others that peace and tranquillity were not restored till 1679.

There is not the slightest doubt that had Stenko Razin, instead of spending a month in pillaging the

provinces, marched directly to Moscow, he would have dethroned the czar. According to L'Eveque and some Russian authors, that rebellion cost the lives of 300,000 human beings; according to others of more, as anarchy, murder, and pillage reigned for several years after Razin's execution in distant provinces of the Russian empire, especially amongst the barbarous and predatory hordes and the serfs, in consequence of his proclamations.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE ZAPOROGUES.

Origin of the Zaporogues—Description of the Country formerly Inhabited by them—Their Numbers, Customs, Laws, and Conditions of admission—Their Robberies by Sea and Land—Their Mode of Life, and Manner of Electing Chiefs—Wars with Turkey, Russia, and the Tatars—Their Independence—Cruelty of Peter the Great towards them — Their Treaty with Mazeppa — Surrender to Turkey — Submission to Russia, and afterwards to Poland — Massacre organised by Catherine — Their Incursion into the Polish Ukraine—Complete Suppression.

It is extremely difficult to assign any fixed epoch as being that of the true origin and first establishment of the Zaporogues, whom many authors appear altogether to confound with the Polish Cossacks, of which race they were in some degree the parent stock. As, however, they must not be entirely confounded together, it may be as well to give some of the reasons for our assertion, which, based as they are upon facts, in themselves indisputable, may give some approximate idea of the difference which existed between the two, without attempting, however, to enumerate all these points of dissimilarity, a task which would involve too wide a digression from the main object of the present work.

The Polish Cossacks did not, from the outset, constitute a body separate from the rest. The Zaporogues appear to date only from the 17th century: they were, originally, nothing but a militia corps, chosen from amongst the very bravest, the most expert, and the most active of the Cossack race—they were called *præ-sidiarii*, and may be regarded as the first Zaporogues—especially appointed to guard the islands of the Dnieper (on which were situated the dockyard, the arsenal, and the treasury of the Cossacks,) during the absence of the latter on their piratical excursions. At a later period, this militia was reorganised by king Stephen Batory, in 1578, being registered and paid expressly for the defence of the southern frontier of Poland against the incursions of the Tatars, the Russians, and the Turks: they were always under arms, and upon active service, either on the islands or along the banks of the Dnieper; and were to be changed or relieved in rotation. Subsequently, as we shall prove, this same militia separated from the main Cossack body, and formed a distinct community, retaining to the last moment of its existence the impress of its primitive descent.

The Zaporogues were so named from the Polish words, *za*, beyond, and *porog*, cataracts; that is to say, “the inhabitants or dwellers beyond the cataracts.” One of their earliest stations was the island of Khor-chitza (forty miles to the south of Kiöf), in lat. 50 deg. and long. 40 deg.\*

In order to obtain admission as a member of the



Zaporogue community at their first establishment, the candidate was required to pass, in his boat, the thirteen cataracts of the Dnieper; and this too against the current; a feat which might well seem impracticable, even to a Hercules himself, were not the fact averred and attested by a host of eye-witnesses, and by several of the earlier historians, amongst others by Boauplan, Starovolski, Sherer, and many others. Further, he must have killed ten of the enemy; have made a successful excursion on the Black Sea; profess the Greek faith, and be unmarried: to all which qualities he was to unite the minor recommendations of being able to hit a mark at a considerable distance with the ball from his carabine; to transfix with an arrow a bird on the wing; and to swim, several times in succession, across the Dnieper. At a later period, however, any robust and desperate brigand was eligible as a Zaporogue. Essentially free, in the enjoyment of the highest consideration, and of great privileges amongst the general mass of Cossacks, over whom they considered themselves to have, as they indeed possessed, a marked superiority, the Zaporogues appear to have entertained a sovereign contempt for all those who cultivated the soil, or addicted themselves to commerce.

The country formerly occupied by the Zaporogues as their peculiar place of abode, extended on either bank of the Dnieper (including the islands formed by that river), over wide-spreading marshes and frightful deserts, rendered almost inaccessible by rocks and

precipices, and eternally beaten by the raging waters of the cataracts, whose ceaseless roar might be heard for many miles round: a dwelling-place, rugged, dismal, wild, romantic, and solitary; well fitted to its savage tenants, and capable of hardening men of even the mildest habits. Their head-quarters were shifted occasionally, but always so as to be safe from the attack of the Ottoman galleys, or of foreign cavalry. According to Sherer, they had three principal establishments on the islets; namely, those of Khortchitza, Sednef, and Kaniof: these strongholds were surrounded by a palisade, a ring of chariots bound together with iron chains, and by a deep trench or ditch: occasionally they were defended by artillery, and by a species of embrasures for musketry or cannon. These war-establishments, plentifully supplied with arms, provisions, stores, and ammunition, were termed *sicz*, from the Polish or Russian word, *siec od siec*—divide, cut up.

It would be difficult to estimate the numbers of the Zaporogues with any approach to certainty, as they varied according to circumstances: in the time of their prosperity they may, according to Starovolski, have numbered forty thousand men, capable at all times of bearing arms: an assemblage of banditti more than sufficient fearfully to disturb the tranquillity of their neighbours.

At first, the Zaporogues made their incursions conjointly with other Cossack hordes, or obeyed the orders of the kings of Poland: subsequently, however, when

they had formed themselves into a separate community, they acted on their own account. Their organisation resembled that which they had formerly received from King Batory, a few slight changes or modifications excepted.

The Zaporogues formed a species of military order or association; or, rather, they may be compared, as regards the general features of their combination, to their contemporaries, the famous Flibustiers of the 17th century. They were governed by a supreme chief (*attaman koshovy*), whom they elected and deposed according to their own caprice. He had under him a secretary-general, *pisar*; an auditor-general, a staff-major, *assavula*; a lieutenant-general of artillery and engineers, and some other subaltern assistants. Besides the officers in question, nominated by themselves, as the country of the Zaporogues was subdivided into numerous districts or *kourenes*, each kourene had its own particular chief, invested likewise with the title of attaman, whose rank corresponded as nearly as possible to that of colonel of a regiment; and who exercised moreover a kind of civil magistracy in the administration of the lands pertaining to his individual kourene. On the 1st of January, in each year, the Zaporogues assembled, with great pomp and bustle, in order to distribute their lands into as many portions as there were kourenes. Each individual of a district had, throughout the year, the right of hunting and fishing on his own kourene exclusively; or, in other words, no

Zaporogue belonging to any other kourene was permitted to interfere with his local privileges or to trespass on the grounds of his neighbour's kourene.

After this partition, they deliberated on the fate of the chiefs of the preceding year, whom they either confirmed in office or deposed at pleasure. The latter awaited their sentence, standing. If the Zaporogues happened to be satisfied with the conduct of their chiefs, the latter bowed to the assembly and retired : if, on the contrary, the attamans had displeased the multitude, they laid down the insignia of their dignity, and returned back as simple Cossacks to their respective kourenes.

The mob, by this time completely drunk, then proceeded to the choice of the particular kourene from which should be selected the new koshovy; whom, having nominated and duly elected, the most sturdy of the drinkers and vociferators waited upon at his own dwelling, if he had been absent from the assembly, in order to announce to him his elevation. If he thrice positively refused to accept the proffered dignity, they in the olden time killed him there and then. At a later period, they merely abused and maimed him. When, after the two formal refusals required by etiquette, he accepted the appointment, they announced, by sound of kettle-drum, his accession to the dignity of attaman; and the most aged of the Zaporogues, taking up a quantity of earth, moistened with water or melted snow, plastered over therewith the face of the newly-elected

chief, amidst the shouts and joyful acclamations of his companions. This rude and barbarous ceremony had allusion to his perilous and often short-lived dignity, seeing that if he might not happen to be killed in an expedition against the enemy, the Zaporogues usually massacred him themselves should he chance to be unsuccessful in war. It may be here remarked that, during a period of seventeen years passed by Boauplan in the Ukraine, there was not one single chief or attaman of the Zaporogues but who came to an untimely end.

In addition to the ceremony of besmearing the face of the new attaman with mud, they stuck a crane's feather in his bonnet, and placed in his hands the *bâton* of command: further, they forced him to swallow a mouthful of tar, giving him, however, a glass of water to wash his mouth withal; and then they comforted him with a glass of excellent hydromel (mead), which he was to gulp down at a single draught.

There was also, occasionally, a second meeting held on Easter-day, for the purpose of renewing the *koshovy*, and the other principal officers under him. But for this convocation the assent of thirteen *kourenes* at the very least was required. Now and then, too, it happened that party differences and squabbles arose, either respecting the *kourenes* or the relative characters and capacities of the various chiefs. Then it was that quarrels ran high, and disputes waxed hot; assuming the character of a domestic war, wherein the victor made the law, laid waste the *kourenes* of the vanquished,

and spread havoc and bloodshed. But this kind of intestine outbreak was not a normal condition of the Zaporogue confederation: such quarrels were by no means of very frequent occurrence, and were usually of short duration.<sup>b</sup>

The *koshovy*, all-powerful during war, had no great authority in time of peace within the *sitche*, where nothing could be done without the *Starszyna*, or Council of Ancients. It must likewise be remarked, that neither the *koshovy* nor the principal officers under him received any salary whatever; but, on the other hand, enjoyed certain emoluments, which varied according to circumstances and the success of the war incursions.

A more frequent subject of tumult and disorder arose during the distribution of the booty, or of the pay granted to the Zaporogues by the kings of Poland. The meetings held for these purposes were called *szodka*, *schodka*, or *mala kromada*, i. e. minor assemblies; and they ended frequently with a fight.

They were all lodged in vast barns, or wooden barracks. The members of each *kourene* ate with their *attamans* at one common table, supplied at the general expense. Their usual food consisted of everything calculated to render men strong and vigorous. But, out of the *sitche*, they ate whatever they pleased, and did whatever they listed. They were also at full liberty to quit their community whenever they chose; but, whilst in the *sitche*, they were bound to conform

to its regulations and usages. The most ancient of all their laws, and one which was ever enforced with the most extreme rigour, was that enacted for the utter exclusion of women from the *sitche*. Every woman who might happen to be caught therein was stoned to death, or, occasionally, after receiving one hundred blows from the *kanczuk*, or short whip, to the thong of which is appended a leaden bullet, she was hung up by the feet; a fire was then lighted under her, so that she was suffocated by the smoke. If, however, as it sometimes chanced, a foreign young girl, altogether innocent, arrived in the *sitche*, they buried her in the ground up to her neck, a fire was lighted at a few paces before her, and she was shot at from a considerable distance. As the smoke from the fire did not allow of a steady aim being taken at her, the marksman generally managed to miss her; not unfrequently, too, by design. After three shots from the carabine she was released, without being subjected to any further outrage, and escorted outside the limits of the *sitche*. If she was wounded, she was not fired upon again; but the whole *kourene* was called together, and the heroine, whose wounds had in the meantime received every possible care and attention, was set at liberty, with the now acquired privilege moreover of selecting from amongst the gallant Zaporogues whomsoever she pleased as her husband. All the Cossacks of the *sitche* made her a present; by which means her support for life was secured, and she retired with her husband

to establish herself in the Ukraine. Even the women carried off in their piratical expeditions and retained were not suffered to live in the sitché. The barbarous treatment experienced by several women at their hands sufficed not, however, to deter others from secretly visiting these Flibustiers, and from incurring all the threatened dangers of the attempt, in order to satisfy their inclinations or their curiosity.

As to the pretended secret, or love-charm, of which some of the Zaporogues are by several authors related to have been in possession for attracting the fair sex, it may be considered in the light of a mere fable invented for the lovers of the marvellous, inasmuch as it is notorious that cases of the kind in question form an exception only amongst the generality of mankind, having no sort of relation either with the islets of the Dnieper, or with the banks of the Boh; in point of fact, with no particular spot on the face of the globe.<sup>c</sup>

There existed, however, several strange peculiarities amongst the Zaporogues; such, for instance, as a species of duel or single combat with the *kanczuk*, or loaded whip, before alluded to. The two combatants stripped off their upper garments down to the waist, after the fashion of the English boxers, and grasped each other by the left hand, whilst with the right they mutually dealt most terrific blows with their whips to the sound of military music, or of a kettle-drum, which beat time to their movements. These duels took place



in the presence of their companions. He who first fell exhausted, or who relinquished the further continuance of the conflict, was declared the vanquished party. Something of the kind existed amongst the ancient Tartaro-Kalmouques. The Zaporogues governed themselves according to the laws of Magdeburg, which passed from Poland into their community.

Although they professed generally the Greek religion, and attended whilst in the sitch the celebration of divine service according to that ritual as there performed by priests sent thither from Kiof, yet they would not listen to sermons or religious exhortations of any kind ; and the diversity of faith amongst them was not productive of any serious dispute.

Every Zaporogue Cossack was bound to be provided with a gun, a lance, a pennant, a crooked sabre, and a brace of pistols. His dress consisted of very loose trowsers, a sheep-skin vest confined by a girdle, and a felt bonnet trimmed with fur. Their heads were close shaven, with the exception of a long tuft of hair which hung down over the forehead. Their chief strength as a military force consisted at first in their infantry, armed with long carabines, so indispensable in their corsair-like expeditions on the Czayki, and of which notice has already been taken : subsequently, however, they were by no means deficient in excellent cavalry.

The Zaporogues presented a strange mixture of virtues and vices difficult to be described. Merciless and cruel destroyers in their predatory incursions

abroad, they were nevertheless just, hospitable, and humane at home. They possessed everything in common; the doors of their huts were never kept locked, and any stranger, without distinction, excepting a Jew, was in the day-time at full liberty to enter them unnoticed, and to help himself freely to whatever he might require, money excepted. Lost money and other articles of value were by the finder openly exposed in places of public resort, in order to be reclaimed by the proper owners. A thief, when apprehended, and his guilt clearly established, was fastened to a post erected in the centre of the *sitche*; near him were placed a bottle of brandy and a stick, and every passer-by had a right to taste of the brandy and to beat the culprit.

Amongst these ferocious banditti, who spared no one in war, the murderer of one of his companions in arms was buried alive, stretched out upon the body of his victim. A punishment no less terrible was reserved for that nameless crime, for the commission of which, as may well be supposed, the law already noticed enacting the rigid exclusion of women from the *sitche* would naturally furnish a fatal inducement.

A Zaporogue was never permitted to remain for three consecutive days inactive: if no warlike affairs were for the moment on hand, he must busy himself in the chase of the bear or the wolf, or in the fisheries, which were carried on in all seasons throughout the year.

This isolated community of brigands and roving corsairs might have passed unheeded down the great

stream of human events into oblivion, had it not been for the fact of their being entrusted with the duty of keeping watch and guard over the great frontier of Poland ; and were it not that their maritime expeditions had been fraught to surrounding states with very considerable danger.<sup>d</sup>

When the Cossacks under Khmielnitski separated from Poland, the Zaporogues did not follow their example, but formed themselves into a distinct community, nominally indeed apart from and independent of the others ; but, in reality, never properly entitled to the rank of an independent state : for living as they did under the nominal protection of Poland, Russia, or of Turkey, and constantly changing masters, they in point of fact subsisted only upon the produce of their inroads upon their neighbours, by whom, consequently, and justly too, they were looked upon in no other light than that of pirates, lawless adventurers, and common robbers.

The Zaporogues were in constant correspondence with all the other Cossack races, even with those at the remotest distance ; forming the nucleus or central point of every plundering expedition, and exercising over all the other tribes a marked influence and ascendancy.

In the wars of Charles XII. against Russia, alternately cajoled and horribly maltreated by Peter the Great, they appeared to incline in favour of the czar's adversaries : they even, by the good offices of Mazeppa, concluded a treaty with the Swedish king at Dykanka.

The details of this treaty are curious. The attaman of the Zaporogues, Horodynski, noted for the hatred he bore the Russians, placed himself voluntarily under the orders of Mazeppa. In order to celebrate this happy alliance with becoming splendour, a magnificent repast was provided for the entertainment of the Zaporogue deputies; Mazeppa, for the occasion, was obliged to borrow a quantity of plate from a nobleman of the Ukraine with whom he was lodging: and, as a further mark of his high consideration for his guests, he promised that they should be introduced to the Swedish king, and have the honour of kissing his majesty's hand. Their *koshovy*, Horodynski, as likewise Mazeppa, having duly expatiated on the merits and extolled the glory of the royal warrior of the north, exhorted their subaltern chiefs to observe some kind of decorum: the latter swore on the Evangelists not to get drunk until after dinner, and received instructions as to the manner in which they were to comport themselves in the presence of his majesty and his suite. At the conclusion of the dinner, however, and of the ceremony of kissing hands, they gave loose to the wildest demonstrations of gaiety after their own peculiar fashion, and began to make off with all the plate within reach, and on which their dinner had been served up. The *mâitre d'hôtel* hastened to reclaim it. According to their code of politeness, the Zaporogues regarded this interference in the light of an insult, and demanded reparation at the hands of their *koshovy*, more especially as they

had fulfilled the conditions exacted from them as regarded their conduct during dinner: they threatened to break off the alliance, and to pass over on the instant to the side of the Russians, if the *mâitre d'hotel* was not given up to them to be punished according to their summary mode of procedure.

As it was to be apprehended that some of the Russian agents might take advantage of this untoward incident, the unhappy *mâitre d'hotel* was delivered up to them. After they had jostled and pitched him about for some time from one to the other, he was ultimately despatched by a stab with a knife through the heart. Charles arrived too late to save him. According to the Zaporogue custom, a guest, provided he be not a Jew, invited to a dinner-party, is entitled to carry off with him whatever he may take a fancy to, with the exception of money or arms. The reader must pardon this slight digression illustrative of Zaporogue manners.

After the battle of Pultawa, in which a great number of them fell, the rest of the Zaporogues followed Mazeppa into Turkey, which they quitted however after his death.

At a subsequent period, the Empress Catherine II. of Russia, flattered the Zaporogues by having her name inscribed in letters of gold in their public registers, and employed them during the rebellion of 1768, under Zelezniak, against the Polish nobles. After the suppression of this revolt, partly by the aid of the Russian troops (Catherine's policy having in the mean-

time changed as regarded this insurrection), a portion of the Zaporogues perished on the scaffold: another portion, faithful to Poland, took refuge in Turkey under Negrassa, whilst the remainder fled to their fastnesses. But Catherine, uneasy at their existence, suddenly despatched General Tekeli with considerable forces to crush them in their retreats. Surprised, surrounded, and attacked at all points, the Zaporogues, after a determined but ineffectual resistance, were compelled to surrender: the sitche was declared from thenceforth broken up; the ancient Zaporogue territory incorporated with Russia (where it now forms the modern governments of Ekaterinoslav, Kharkof, and Tauride); and the very existence of the Zaporogues themselves, as a separate community, annihilated. A considerable body of them dispersed themselves in various directions. Amongst the remarkable incidents to which this obstinate, although ultimately fruitless resistance of the Zaporogues gave rise, and which characterised their last struggles for existence as a nation, may be particularized the heroic exploits of the last of the Zaporogue chieftains, Sava.

Amongst other grave accusations laid to the charge of the Zaporogues, the chaste Czarina Catherine reproached them with leading a debauched and licentious life! At a later period, those amongst them who made their submission to Russia, and declared themselves willing to marry, received, by virtue of the Ukase of the 30th June, 1792, the right of territory over the

island of Taman and all the country situated to the east of the Black Sea, between Kuban and the sea of Azof, as far as Labinskay Krepost, occupying in all a space of 1700 geographical miles.

They are now no longer known under the name of the Zaporogues, or Cossacks of the Lesser Russia, but under the designation of the Cossacks of the Black Sea (Tsharnomortscy). They form twenty-six regiments constantly attached to the army of the Caucasus, and scarcely ever make their appearance on the left banks of the Dnieper.

A single river separates them from the Cossacks of the Don, but there is a proverb extant among the Russians, that *a Cossack of the Black Sea is equal to three Cossacks of the Don*; nor is there the least doubt that in point of ferociousness, of indomitable courage, and bodily strength, they are, as they themselves believe, infinitely superior to the latter. Proud, independent by nature, and waging eternal warfare in the neighbourhood of the Caucasus, they look with contempt on the Cossacks of the Don. In their songs they make frequent allusions to Poland and to the town of Kiöf. Their favourite colour is that of Poland, namely, crimson; they detest the Russians; they bear for the most part Polish names; and there are still some vestiges of the Polish character amongst them. They are distinguished from the rest of the Cossacks by the peculiar symbol of their tribe, and to which they formerly appeared to attach a sort of religious veneration, viz.,

by a lock of hair, which rising from the top of the head falls down behind the right ear. Their lances too are much shorter than those of the Cossacks of the Don.

The other branch of this famous race, which took refuge in Turkey under Nehrassa, and received a grant of lands on the Danube, was known under the name of the Cossacks of Nehrassa. During the last war of the Russians against Turkey, in 1828, they remained faithful to Turkey, and testified by the horrible carnage they made of the Russian troops, several cavalry regiments of which they exterminated to the last man, their hatred towards Russia. Occasionally they took the Russian Cossacks by surprise by imitating their language and assuming their dress. They spread great terror amongst the Don Cossacks, upon whom they would likewise also fall by surprise, and whom they succeeded sometimes in deceiving by a similar stratagem. They never gave them quarter. The Emperor Nicholas offered them very advantageous conditions to induce them to return to Russia, but they have hitherto rejected every proposition to this effect. By the treaty of Adrianople the designation of "Cossacks of Nehrassa" is suppressed: they constitute at present a species of Ottoman militia, and may one day prove a powerful element of aggression against Russia.

Such was this singular community of Zaporogues; unique, perhaps, in its kind, and concerning which we have gathered all the information possible, and consulted every accessible authority. Amongst others,



Sherer, *Annales de la Petite Russie*, *Memoires Secrètes de la Russie*, Miller, Bushing, Boauplan, Chevalier, Lessur, Neemeevicz, the *Memoirs of Colonel Lagawski*, Norberg, &c. The time perhaps is not far distant which may once more bring this remarkable race of warlike adventurers upon the scene of northern Asiatic, if not of European, affairs. As regards Russia more especially, their existence is fraught with considerations of the most serious importance.

## CHAPTER IV.

## MAZEPPA.

Mazeppa—His Extraction—Intrigue with the wife of Kontsky discovered—His Punishment—Preservation—Appointed Aide-de-camp to Doroszenko and Samoilovitch—Ingratitude towards his Benefactor—His Election—Shameful Conduct to his Sons—His successful Intrigues against Sofia, hated sister of Peter the Great, never clearly explained—His Inroads against the Tatars of Otchokaf—His Successes cheering to Peter the Great in his Check at Azof—The taking of that Place chiefly attributed to Mazeppa—Favours lavished on his Cossacks—The leading Idea of Mazeppa against Peter the Great and the Russians—His Intention to return to Poland with his Cossacks—Stratagem to escape—Correspondence with Charles XII. and Turkey—His skill in deceiving the Czar—His Stratagem for getting rid of his Enemies—His Danger—Blind Confidence of the Czar in his Fidelity—His Precautions before joining the Swedish King—His Deputation to the Czar, and his Intention discovered—His Speech to the Cossacks—Its Effect—Sack of Baturin by Menzikof—Mazeppa's Effigy—Torture of Thirty Prussian Officers—The Czar's offers to Mazeppa rejected—Treaty with the Zaporogues—His advice to besiege Pultawa—Accidental Success of the Russians—Unfortunate Position of the Cossacks—Danger of Mazeppa and the King of Sweden—Arrival in Turkey—Mazeppa's Remorse, and Death at Bender.

MAZEPPA was the son of a Polish gentleman established in Podolia,<sup>a</sup> and by one of those fortunate circumstances which often exercise a great influence on human destiny, and also by his family connexions,

attracted the attention of John Kazimer, king of Poland, who spared no expense in giving him an excellent education, and made him page at his court.

The beauty, accomplishments, and enterprising spirit of the young page did not fail of making a deep impression on many a fair lady in fashionable circles. He was introduced to the wife of Martin Kontsky, grand general of artillery; and felt inspired at the first sight with a passion which, by frequent opportunities of seeing the beloved object, and the difficulty of gratifying its fancy, became every day stronger, more dangerous, and daring. For a while the passion of the two lovers by their mutual prudence and carefulness was not known; and its secret gratification added new charms to its existence. Such a thing, however, could not possibly be long concealed at a court, where jealous and watchful eyes were constantly directed on both parties. A lady, whose advances Mazeppa received with coldness, soon discovered the true object of the latter's affection, and indirectly apprised the husband of the conduct of his beautiful and guilty spouse.

Mazeppa, watched secretly, was caught by the outraged husband, who, indignant at the extent of his domestic misfortune, and excited by the thirst of revenge, ordered his men to scourge him unmercifully till he lost his consciousness, to pour a sort of salt liquid on his body, and cover it with tar. The young

page was then tied by cutting strings to the back of a wild and indomitable Ukrainian horse, sought and prepared beforehand for that purpose, and was thus left to his destiny.

The horse suddenly liberated after being tormented, and unable to shake the weight off its back, dashed at a furious speed into the deserts of his native steppes. Hunted by wolves, as well as by some Cossacks, who thought it an apparition of an evil spirit, the horse traversed torrents, ravines, rivers, crossed the Dnieper, and galloped with incredible speed into a small town in the Eastern Ukraine on the market day; and there, excited by hunger, fear, and fatigue, fell dead. Mazeppa, restored to life, and hospitably taken care of by the Cossacks, adopted their manners and religion, and became the favourite aide-de-camp of Doroszenko; on the retirement of the latter, he became the aide-de-camp of Samoilovitch, an able Cossack chief, by whom he was treated in the most friendly manner; an ungrateful return for which, however, was subsequently manifested by Mazeppa; who, taking advantage of the unfortunate expedition of Samoilovitch into the Crimea, became his principal accuser, deposed him, and was unanimously chosen their leader in his stead.

Not satisfied with his new position, which he owed to his craft and ingratitude, and dreading the influence and revenge of the two sons of Samoilovitch, his benefactor, he unjustly ordered one of them to be slain,

and sent the other through his intrigues to Siberia. These acts displeasing even his own partisans did him much harm and thwarted some of his mighty projects.

Mazeppa, being well aware that only warlike successes could secure his authority among the Cossacks, in 1689 attacked the Tatars of Oczakaf, and vanquished them in several engagements. The following year he accompanied the expedition of Galiczyn into the Crimea with his Cossacks, which ended in the discomfiture of the Tatars. Mazeppa was rewarded by rich presents and decorations. Soon after, by some means mentioned by several historians but never well explained, he attracted the eye of Peter the Great, by hinting to him a dark intrigue, secretly put in motion, by which his sister Sofia and her favourite Galiczyn were humbled for ever.

After the defection of Khmielnitski with his Cossacks from Poland to Russia, there were for a long time a certain part of the Polish Cossacks whose chiefs (attamans) were nominated by the kings of Poland. One of them, Paley, after defeating his rival Samuel, and exciting the jealousy of the Polish lords by his intrigues and wealth, passed over with numerous partisans to the Russians and acknowledged the supremacy of Mazeppa, who at that time was the sole chief or attaman of all the Cossacks, but that act of submission did not satisfy the daring adventurer. Paley was soon sent by his intrigues to Siberia, where he remained till the battle of Pultawa, and Mazeppa

obtained some advantages in several minor military expeditions, which gratified the vanity of Peter the Great, who, in spite of the loss of 30,000 men, could not master the town of Azof at first. When, however, that crafty prince, obstinate in his views for the conquest of the Crimea, pressed that town with great vigour, Mazeppa, who got by accident secret intelligence in that town, requested his master to allow his Cossacks to storm it, which was accepted. The Cossacks, animated by the thirst of plunder and encouraged by the presence of their chief, had already climbed its walls, when its commander surrendered the fortress at discretion. Peter the Great, well aware of the importance of that town, which he attributed to Mazeppa's stratagem, did not fail to consider him as his best friend, and never failed to show him marks of his consideration; but as that prince had a sagacious eye, and was more than once frustrated in his views by the Cossacks, he ordered his generals to watch them closely, and did all he could to humble them, and, dividing them, quelled their insurrections by great atrocities.

Though Mazeppa left Poland with revengeful feelings, and greatly contributed to the victories of Peter the Great, it seems he never lost completely the memory of Poland. In his heart he desired to be an independent sovereign, but he never wished to be under the Russian yoke, and was besides this infinitely superior, by his education, to the generality of the Russian generals, who cast on him a jealous eye, and he was more than once

obliged to submit tamely to great insults from his haughty master. Once, when the latter openly avowed the project either of exterminating the Cossacks, or of bending them to the same obedience as his Russian subjects, Mazeppa ventured to remonstrate; when Peter the Great, excited by wine, threatened to punish his remark by a cruel death. From that time the hetman was more prudent, and adapted his language, his conduct, and even his dress, to his master's taste; the better to deceive him, and so escape the watchful eyes of his numerous enemies, he feigned sudden illness, went to bed, displayed signs of sinking life, spake often of God, frequently confessed, and in his confessions more than once hinted into the ear of the priest that his services were not sufficiently great for repaying his master's favours, for whom he was always ready to sacrifice his life. He bequeathed part of his wealth to the priests, purchased indulgences, kissed their hands, showing them humiliating submission, and though of vigorous health, he manifested all the signs of a speedy departure to the other world. During his dreams he often pronounced some words favourable to the czar, to whom everything was reported. In the meantime the hetman was secretly preparing the insurrection among the Cossacks; his friends were hinting to them that the czar intended to make them slaves, to govern them as peasants, and transport them to Siberia, and that unmistakable documents were found on that subject; that those who were faithful to the Russians were traitors; and some of

them who were suspected to be so, were skilfully exposed to great dangers in their conflicts with the Turks and Tatars, where they perished. He found means to establish a correspondence with the sultan of Turkey in the most secret manner, as well as with Charles XII. For the latter he professed the greatest admiration, and promised to join him with all his men, to exterminate the Russian corps scattered in the Ukraine, provided he might have the duchy of Severy ceded to him as a principality, and also the title of hetman of all the Cossacks, whom he wished to bring back to the Polish domination.

Charles XII., however, seems to have been very careless about Mazeppa's promises, and had not much reliance on the Cossacks. Thanking Mazeppa for his offers, he advised him to postpone his defection. This unlucky delay placed the Cossack chief in a very dangerous position. Already alarming rumours respecting his projects were propagated, and even the czar was apprised of them; but Mazeppa played his cards so well, that the czar, considering as traitors all who suspected Mazeppa's fidelity, sent him, under a strong escort, his two principal accusers, Iskra and Kotczubey. Mazeppa was obliged to sacrifice them for his safety, and they were both killed by three strokes of sharp hammers on their heads in his presence (a punishment reserved to traitors among the Cossacks). The czar also, wishing to give him a more decided mark of his imperial favour, invited him to proceed to Kiöf,



to lay with him the first stone of the fortress of that town. Mazeppa, who had left his bed, convoked all the subordinate chiefs, and sent his own nephew Woynaroski to the czar, requesting him to govern the Cossacks with more liberality. Before, however, that deputation reached Moscow, one of his letters was intercepted: the czar ordered Woynaroski to be immediately put in irons, and gave peremptory orders to all his generals to forcibly prevent the junction of the Cossacks with the king of Sweden. He liberated from Siberia all persons sent there by Mazeppa's influence. He also put in circulation the rumour that all the defeats of the Cossacks by the Swedes were attributable to the treason of their own hetman, who wished to reduce the Greek church to the caprices of the Pope and Lutheran court. In fact, nothing was spared to blacken his character, and to lower him in their estimation.

Mazeppa saw that the time was come for action. He therefore marched towards the Dnieper, collected provisions, put in a good state of defence the towns of Gotchi, Tchernigof, and especially Baturin, and joined the king of Sweden with 15,000 Cossacks in the vicinity of the river Desna. He soon after made a favourable treaty with the Zaporogues, renewed the correspondence with the Turks favourable to his cause, and neglected nothing that could improve the situation of the Swedish army, and contribute to the success of his projects.

Peter the Great being well aware of the importance

of the defection of the Cossacks in favour of Charles, did all he could to stop it; and having been apprised that the Swedish king had forgotten to secure the post of Starodub, which could thwart all the efforts of the Russians to master the fortress of Baturin, where large stores of ammunition and provisions were amassed for the Swedes, he detached his favourite, Menzikof, with a large body of troops, to storm it. The latter marched with great haste through difficult tracts, took the town by surprise, burned and sacked it, and after putting the inhabitants to the sword, sent thirty Prussian officers as prisoners, with their general Koenigseck, grand master of the artillery in Mazeppa's service, to the czar; who, after ordering his clergy to excommunicate Mazeppa, and to attach his likeness to the gibbet, sent them to the scaffold, where they perished by the most horrible tortures.

The taking of this fortress by Menzikof was, perhaps, the most important step towards the ultimate victory of the Russians. Peter the Great, however, having heard that Mazeppa was indefatigable in victualing the Swedish army, offered him a complete oblivion of the past should he return to him again; but the hetman, well aware of his true disposition, and indignant at the atrocities which the czar had inflicted on his partisans, refused the offer, and wisely continued to be faithful to his new friend.

Charles XII., after passing the most terrible winter of 1709 almost without shelter, advanced into the wilds

of the eastern Ukraine; and after several successful skirmishes besieged the town of Pultawa, situated on the right bank of the river Worskla, where Peter the Great soon arrived with 80,000 men and a numerous train of artillery. Without entering into the particulars of the battle of Pultawa, it may be sufficient to state, that it saved the Russian empire from a revolution, lowered the political importance of Sweden for centuries, and was gained over Charles XII., chiefly by a mistake of the Swedish general Kreutz, and the king's illness. One portion of the Cossacks under Peter the Great fought with the others under Mazeppa. After the loss of that battle, Charles XII., attended by some Cossacks and the wreck of his army, retreated towards the Dnieper, constantly harassed by General Menzikof, who pressed them closely and gave no quarter to any Cossack; though several thousands of the Swedish veterans, so often victorious, whose very name struck terror in the heart of the Russians, surrendered.

Charles XII., beaten, attended by Poniatowski, Mazeppa, and some of his most faithful friends, sick, and carried on a litter, reached at last with great difficulty the Dnieper, where some boats were prepared for transporting him to the other shore, and facilitating his progress to Turkey. Scarcely had Mazeppa and the king leaped into a boat when a terrible storm arose, and the angry waves dashed with such fury from the west that the greater part of the boats were broken, the boatmen drowned, and the hetman was obliged for his

own safety to throw immense treasures into the river, which proved a watery grave to all those who attempted to swim through it.

After a long, painful, and harassing journey, during five days, with scanty provisions, without water, without shelter, without any visible track, through the romantic deserts of the mighty Ukraine, Charles XII., with his suite, and Mazeppa watching constantly the guides that they might not betray them, directing their steps by the stars, by the gusts of moaning winds, and the flocks of screaming birds, reached at last in safety the Turkish town of Otchakof, where they were most hospitably received by the Turkish pasha.

Mazeppa was attended by the remainder of those celebrated Zaporogues, under the command of Horodynski their chief, who acknowledged his superiority before the battle of Pultawa. They received some lands by order of the grand seignor near the river Kamionka, and at first were allowed to govern themselves according to their own laws, and found, in their misfortunes, benefactors in those very Turks, whose land they formerly plundered and sacked so many times in their expeditions. In consequence of the great annoyance of the Russians, the scattered remains of the Zaporogues were obliged to retreat further towards the Crimea, which they did always governed by Mazeppa, who remained by the express wish of the king of Sweden near his royal person at Bender. There the aged, vigorous, and unfortunate hetman, who had passed through so many

extraordinary scenes, whose long life resembled more an Ukranian tale than reality; whose counsels, not well appreciated by the northern hero, were perhaps the principal cause of his downfall, charmed more than once the Swedish king by his flowing eloquence and brilliant conversation, always pertinent, and adapted to the meanest understanding.

It is to be remarked, that in all the negotiations which Peter the Great attempted to make, either with the king of Sweden or with the Turkish government, he always requested the delivery of Mazeppa, for whose person he offered large sums of money. But the Turks, who never broke the sacred laws of hospitality, whose noble feelings and generosity are universally acknowledged, constantly rejected such proposals. And Charles, barbarous once only in his life towards Patkul, too proud to complain, and having a generous heart, attached to Mazeppa by the bonds of common misfortune, and judging men according to their real value, never dreamed of committing such a wrong. Soon, however, grief, uneasiness, inactive life, mingled probably with cutting reproaches of conscience and disappointed hopes, undermined Mazeppa's constitution and spirit, and he took poison, and died in the eighty-first year of his age.

In carefully investigating the adventures of Mazeppa, we must acknowledge there is something mysterious, wild, and romantic in them, which cannot fail to interest the fair sex, and which have been turned to such good account by the fervid genius of Byron.

Without refusing the homage due to the great ability, accomplishments, and manly qualities of Mazeppa, we cannot, as an historian, refrain from pointing out also his ambition, ingratitude, and crimes, which can only be exceeded by the misfortunes of his early days. Under the cloak of sincerity and indifference, the crafty Mazeppa, whose features and words never betrayed the secret thoughts of his heart, and whose disposition was rather adapted to form an eastern tyrant than a ruler of the civilised world, was a perfect master in the art of dissimulation, and never failed to sacrifice, without any visible emotion, even the lives of his best friends for the gratification of his ambition. Liberal and impenetrable by nature, of abstemious habits, he easily wrested the secrets of another by a jest, a smile, or a word. His conduct towards Samoilovicz, his benefactor, whose innocent son he murdered; his conduct towards Paley, and many other murders and crimes, are stains on his memory which cannot be washed away. He passed through the world like a gust of moaning wind in the desert, and to this hour the Ukranian people preserve his memory in their national songs. See *Life of Peter the Great*, Hist. de Charles XII. par Voltaire, see *Voyage de la Motraye*, Pologne Pittoresque, Ncemcevicz, *Lettres de Charles XII.*, rapportées par Norberg; Roullière, *Anarchie de Pologne*; Leclerc, Pufendorf, John Perry, *Present State of Russia*; and Lesur, on the Cossacks.

## CHAPTER V.

## ZELEZNIAK.

Zelezniague—His Parentage unknown—Retires to a Monastery—Stanialaus Poniatowski—A Confederation of Nobles to expel the Russians from Poland—They attack Souvaroff—The King takes no part in the Insurrection—Wretched Means used by the Russian Ambassador to corrupt the Youth of Warsaw—Induces the King to withdraw his Troops from the Ukraine—Russian Priests excite a Rebellion against the Nobles in that province—The Empress Catherine encourages the Zaporoguan Cossacks to rise in arms—Zelezniague leaves his Retreat, and is made their Attaman—He commits the most horrible Excesses through the Ukraine—Most of the Nobles destroyed, but a remnant take Refuge in Houmagne—Zelezniague enters the town by Treachery, and butchers the Inhabitants—Polish Troops sent against him—Catherine disavows the Insurrection, and sends an Army to quell it—The Russian Colonel Goloriva pretends Friendship to the Rebel Chiefs—Zelezniague, after being Defeated by the Poles, seeks Protection in the Russian camp—Is made Prisoner, and the Outbreak is suppressed—Supposed end of Zelezniague—His Person, Talents, and Character.

MAXIMUS ZELEZNIAQUE, whose very name inspires still a feeling of horror in the Ukraine, was a Zaporoguan Cossack by birth. Traditional records furnish but few particulars of his origin and early life. After the commission of crimes, or, to say the least, of glaring irregularities, which his conscience

disapproved, he retired as a penitent to the secluded *schismatic*<sup>a</sup> monastery of Medvedovka.

Catherine II., empress of Russia, had just placed upon the throne of Poland, one of her discarded lovers, Stanislaus Poniatowski, a Polish nobleman, whose weakness of mind, coupled with his debauchery and lascivious manners, drew down upon him the indignation of the Polish nobles. The mere puppet of Russia, he quietly crouched under the domination of Prince Repnin, the Russian ambassador at the court of Warsaw; Repnin, whose prodigality, licentiousness, and unqualified effrontery, added to his craftiness, arrogance, and malevolence, proved a dreadful scourge to Poland.

The majority of the Polish nobles, exasperated at the pusillanimity of their king, at a period when the greatest firmness and the most energetic measures would scarcely have been able to rescue Poland from ruin, at length began to entertain serious thoughts of either rousing him from his debasement, or hurling him from the throne. Universal indignation prevailed. Poland at that time was already governed as a Russian province, and a confederation was forthwith formed at Bar<sup>b</sup> (a little town in Podolia, a southern Polish province), by Adam Count Krasinski, bishop of Kamienietz, his brother Michael, Pulawski, with his sons and nephew, and a few other leading Polish patriots, in 1768, in the month of February. The object of this confederation was the expulsion of the Moscovite party from the kingdom, and the elevation of Poland from the humiliation to



which she had been reduced. Ere long, without arms, ammunition, regular troops, or pecuniary resources, they commenced a series of attacks against the Russian armies commanded by Souvarof, one of the ablest of the Russian generals.

This daring and desperate enterprise gradually re-kindled the energy of the Polish nation, and menaced Russia with no inconsiderable danger. The initiatory acts of hostility were confined to a desultory warfare, which, unimportant as it first appeared, harassed the Russians greatly, allowing them no rest either by night or by day, and altogether demoralizing their soldiery. The regular troops of Poland, with their king, at first took no part in this war, appearing to favour it the more, in proportion as the alarm which it gave to the Russians, increased. Battles were fought in rapid succession, and scarcely a day passed without some bloody conflict; the combatants on both sides contending with the most savage fury. The Polish insurgents, disciplined by daily experience, became, with every new conflict, more formidable to Russia; and Poland might have been delivered from the Moscovite yoke, if more decisive measures had been taken in regard to the king, who formed one of the greatest obstacles to the success of this glorious struggle for independence. Repnin was commanded to employ every possible means for suppressing the insurrection; and was enjoined to neglect no measures, open or underhand, for crushing it. The plans he adopted for accomplishing this object were

indeed very extraordinary ; and they were successful to a certain extent, through one of those contingencies which bid defiance to all preconcerted schemes and previous calculations. It was known that many females of the higher orders of society were favourable to the insurgents ; and, accordingly, he sent for twenty-eight young and handsome citizens of Moscow and St. Petersburg, and many other foreigners, all men in the bloom of life, whose elegance of person, pleasing manners, and splendid attire, could not fail to captivate the softer sex and thus to gain possession of family secrets. A bevy also of syren Pompadours came into Poland with similar intentions. Such attractive personages, surrounded with Asiatic magnificence, easily gained admission into the highest circles ; while their numerous retinue, acting as inferior agents, endeavoured, according to the instructions they had received, to gain the good graces of the domestic menials by every art of captivation.

Rewards and distinctions were not wanting to crown the fortunate. Those, indeed, of the male sex, who were commissioned thus to use their influence, were ordered likewise in secret, to tarnish the reputation of virtuous females, to turn them into ridicule, to disseminate discord, to foment disunion, and to excite the Polish aristocracy to a violation of all sumptuary restrictions. It was not long before Repnin was apprised that the insurgents were supplied with money and provisions by certain of the nobles. The Russian generals,

however, acted with unceasing vigilance, and their consequent proceedings inflicted a greater amount of injury upon the confederates, than the often doubtful results of actual conflict.

The second plan adopted for crushing the insurgents was dictated by the following circumstance. The Turks, having apparently afforded secret assistance to the insurrection, which derived its principal resources from the Ukraine, and from whence, on the part of the nobles, the principal opposition to the king emanated, Repnin artfully contrived to persuade King Poniatowski to cause the Polish troops under Branetzki to be withdrawn from that province. After this had been done, two hundred priests of the Greco-Russian creed, with Basil, bishop of Tchegrine, at their head, an ecclesiastic of ability, but of unparalleled cruelty, craftiness, and hypocrisy, were sent into the Ukraine, for the purpose of exciting a religious rebellion against the nobles. In every commune these vile emissaries secretly distributed in the night large casks filled with daggers for massacreing, without distinction, all who did not profess the Russian faith. These murderous priests, not content with pronouncing blessings upon these daggers, thus consecrating them to the cruel purpose for which they were intended, gave complete and unlimited absolution from all their sins, to those who with lavish hand should spread abroad, carnage, conflagration, mourning and despair. The Zaporogian Cossacks were persuaded to become the agents of similar horrors. All the monaste-

ries of the schismatics that were in the Ukraine became so many strongholds for the rebellion, and this the more easily, as the country was at that time destitute of troops, and as the common people were for the most part under an impression (so effectually had the priests worked upon them) that the outbreak had been made in obedience to the mandates of the king of Poland. Proclamations were likewise disseminated throughout the Ukraine and amongst the Zaporogues, that the confederates of Bar, principally composed of nobles, were desirous to enforce the conversion of the population to the Church of Rome, or exterminate them without mercy: but that the Empress of Russia, holding the same religious tenets as themselves, would despatch 50,000 men to guard their liberties against the encroachments of their Polish masters. Then she raised Zelezniaque to the rank of Brigadier of Lesser Zaporogua. The Zaporoguians were at that time living, nominally, under the protection of Russia, Turkey, and Poland, but in reality they formed a distinct caste, maintaining relations with other Cossacks, and committing excesses wherever they were able. Catherine caused her own name to be inscribed on their public register, in letters of gold, and took every opportunity of flattering them. In thus acting, she had a twofold object in view—to weaken Poland, and to lessen the numbers of a body she wished to exterminate. The Zaporoguians, as if blindfolded, fell into the snare she laid for them, lost all remembrance of their benefactor Stephen Batory, forgot their mother

country, were blind to their own interests, and seemed to have banished from their memory the cruelties of Peter the Great, and the terrible lessons they had received from that barbarous potentate.

Intelligence of the prevailing consternation did not fail to reach the ears of Zelezniak in his monastic retreat; a glorious spoil seemed to glisten before his eyes; from an ascetic he became a chief, and was proclaimed *attaman koshovy* of the Zaporogians. He began by secretly organising, in the dense and gloomy forests on both banks of the Tasma, bands of incendiaries and brigands, seconded by schismatic clergy and Russian officers. Polish Ukraine was soon overrun by these human demons.<sup>c</sup> The dark, fanatical Zelezniak, surnamed the Hyena of the Ukraine, whose great strength of body, whose iron will, and tiger-like ferocity fitted him for the most daring enterprises, dashed at once into the career of crime; uplifting the crucifix, and invoking the holy name of Christ, while he inflicted the most cruel punishment for the least disobedience of his commands.

All who were not of the Greek religion, aged men, women, children, nobles, serfs, monks, tillers of the soil, Catholics, Lutherans, Jews, all were slaughtered indiscriminately. The entire province presented the spectacle of a town taken by storm. Cossack and rebel-serf vied with each other in acts of merciless cruelty: deep wells were filled up with the dead bodies of infants; nobles, females, and priests, were buried in

the ground up to the chin, while the assassin torturers danced around them to the sound of music, amusing themselves at intervals with mowing off the heads of their victims, like the grass of the field. On the same gibbet were seen mothers and their children. Other details of the barbarous cruelty practised on females, and related by historians, are of too horrid and revolting a character, to bear more minute description. They hanged likewise upon the same tree on the public highway, a Polish nobleman, a priest, a protestant, and a dog, with the inscription "*one and the same.*" Children of tender years were fastened alive to other sufferers, thus to perish by a slow and dreadful death ; or, being incapable of resistance, while they were firmly held, they were poinarded or deprived of their eyes by Cossack boys not more than ten years of age. But here we must pause, the pen shrinks from tracing such inhuman deeds. The Jews, abominated more than others on account of their religion, were almost all burned alive ; nor did even the abjuration of their religion secure them from the stake.

In the villages lay murdered women, and the mutilated trunks of adults and children crushed by the iron-bound hoofs of the horses.<sup>d</sup> All to whom flight was possible, sought a doubtful safety in remote places ; while the whole of the nobles scattered throughout the Ukraine, fell. Examples were not wanting of serfs defending their masters with the utmost devotedness and bravery ; most of the villages were taken by assault and burned to ashes ; the inhabitants being

slaughtered. A remnant of the Polish nobility took refuge at Houmagne, the principal fortified town of the southern part of the Ukraine, in which were stationed some Polish Cossacks under Gonta, and a few other soldiers. A dark plot was formed for taking it by surprise, and the undertaking unhappily succeeded through the treachery of Gonta. Under pretext of revictualing the town, Zelezniaque, with his ferocious bands, was introduced into it, at nightfall, by his agents; and, after a short resistance, eighteen thousand inhabitants were put to the sword. The slaughter lasted three days: atrocities which no power of language can describe were committed; and while the massacre was being accomplished, the Russian priests pronounced blessings and chaunted hymns of triumph.

As the rebellion, daily increasing in intensity and extent, began to assume a very alarming aspect, some Polish troops, under Brigadier Stempkowski, in conjunction with a corps of faithful Cossacks under Nekrassa, came up and gave successful battle to the rebels in several encounters. The general terror arising from this appalling outbreak at length arose to so high a pitch, that the court of St. Petersburg was obliged to discountenance by an overt disavowal, the rebellion excited by its own instrumentality; and to punish those who had taken a part in it. (See Lesur.) The main body of the Haidamaques still maintained their encampment at Houmagne under Gonta; while Zelezniaque was constantly sending out detachments to

overrun the country, when a body of infantry and Russian Cossacks of the Don, under the command of Nolkín and Goloriva, suddenly showed themselves before the town. As the Poles under Negrassa, who had cut up to the last man some troops of rebels, were advancing to engage in battle, the Russian general Kretchetnikoff despatched Colonel Goloriva to apprise the rebel chiefs of the impending danger. This step was crowned with complete success. Goloriva spoke in friendly terms, approved everything that had been done in the name of the czarina, drew up an ulterior plan of military operations, assisted in regulating the discipline, visited the chief officers, assured them that they would be defended in case of any sudden attack by the Poles, and completely won their confidence. The rebel confederates shortly after, while reconnoitring for information, fell in with the Polish vanguard. Beaten by this force and pursued by Negrassa, they took refuge in the Russian camp, but Goloriva then adopted an opposite line of conduct, and after having hemmed them in on all sides, he ordered them to be thrown into irons, together with Zelezniaque and other chiefs. He then attacked and routed the rest of the Haïdamaques conjointly with the Poles; and having surrounded them, caused them to be sent back, to the number of eighteen hundred, together with Gonta, to General Branetzki, while he reserved to himself Zelezniaque with a smaller number of Russian prisoners. The accounts relative to the death of Zelezniaque are



contradictory. The end of his earthly career has never been altogether cleared of mystery, although no doubts remain touching the concluding scene of the life of Gonta. Some say that Zelezniaque, after the dispersion of the Haïdamaques, was punished with the knout, and transported for life with all his family into Siberia : others assert that he succeeded in effecting his escape, and that he fell in a skirmish at the head of one of his detachments. Again, it is maintained by others that he died at a very advanced age, a voluntary recluse in a monastery at Moscow. This last statement appears to me to rest on an apparently good foundation, as I very distinctly remember having heard it on several occasions during my stay in the Ukraine. It is also confirmed by some of my fellow-exiles and countrymen, natives of that district. Zelezniaque may have survived the punishment of the knout, though instances of this are very rare ; he may also have been left for dead upon the field of battle, and there have returned to consciousness.

The historical notices that have been published respecting him, agree in describing him as a man of middle stature and of extraordinary physical strength ; that he was fierce in aspect and sombre in disposition ; that his energies were inexhaustible, and that his very name excited an involuntary shudder ; that he was a religious fanatic, guided by the sincere impulses of a misdirected enthusiasm, and that he was neither crafty nor ambitious. He was at that time (in 1768) in the

fortieth year of his age. He appeared to cherish an insurmountable antipathy to the Jews, an antipathy which suffered no diminution to the end of his career; and which was ascribable perhaps to the false notion maliciously propagated by the Russian peasants against them.

During his meals, he often feasted his eyes with their dying agonies; he invented for these, his most hated victims, tortures which surpass all belief, and of which the bare idea makes the blood run cold. He was superstitious, and had a peculiar aversion for females of dark complexion; and if they bore the least symbol of manhood upon their chins he burnt them as witches. In his features were combined the boldness of the lion and the fierceness of the tiger. His eyes glared with a fiery but sullen redness, which was quite in keeping with the solitary life he had passed, within hearing of the roar of the cataracts of the Dnieper. He had an enthusiastic veneration for the priesthood of his own creed; and seemed to have a remarkable predilection for prophets so called, and astrologers. His voice was like the bellowing of a bull. His portrait, which I saw several times in my early boyhood, did not belie the execrable historical character of the prototype. See Lesur, *Histoire des Cosaques*; Tuczapski, *Madame Crebs, fille de Madonovicz*, *Description de la Rebellion des Haïdamaques*; Lelevel, Colonel Logoski, Swientski, Ferrand les trois Demembremens, Niemcewicz, and Czaykoski.

## CHAPTER VI.

## GONTA.

Born a Serf of Count Pototski—Raised from his station, and made Chief of the Cossacks—Houmagne—The Empress Catherine foments discord in the Ukraine—Mladanovicz sends him to relieve Houmagne—A Polish Deputation make him large offers to secure his co-operation—Is persuaded to desert the cause of his Country—Joins Zelezniaque, and opens Houmagne to his ferocious bands—Assists at the dreadful Carnage perpetrated there—Assumes the command of the Rebel Army—Is defeated by Nekrassa and the Polish troops—Takes refuge in the Russian Camp, and is made prisoner with Zelezniaque, by Goloriva, who was sent by the Empress to quell the Rebellion—Gonta is condemned to a cruel death, and his family exiled to Siberia—Branetzki the Polish General—Many Polish Families driven from their homes—Induced to return, they are massacred—Dreadful state of the Ukraine—Its desolations, and awful sacrifice of human life—Gonta's Character—The present Count Pototski and his sister the Countess Kieselev emigrants from the country.

IF the guiltiest deeds that darken the annals of the past, if the savage ferocity of the tiger, and the subtlest wiliness of the fox, if great versatility of mind and unexampled perfidy, united to the loftiest ambition, have at any time rendered a brigand chief notorious, no one has better deserved so detestable a renown, than the man who is the subject of this biographical memoir.

Gonta was originally a serf, professing the Greco-Russian religion, and was born at Rosuszki, a small village belonging to Szczesny Pototski, palatine of Kïow, the capital of the Ukraine. This nobleman was possessed of immense riches, and was the owner of the town of Houmagne with all its dependencies. Since the year 1760 he had confided this property to the care of a skilful steward named Raphael Mladanowicz. This man, seeing that the greatest portion of the land about Houmagne was lying uncultivated, and that with proper agricultural attention its value might be increased, erected farm-houses in convenient localities, and assigned them to industrious tenants at a very moderate rent, on condition of their making good roads, and using every means to augment the revenue of his master. At the same time he endeavoured to secure the well-being of the palatine's subjects and dependents. He then improved and ornamented the town of Houmagne, repaired the houses and streets, and established schools, which he placed under the direction of men esteemed for the excellence of their character. For the security of the town and its vicinity, in addition to a certain number of regular troops, there were some regiments of militia formed from the relics of the ancient Polish Cossacks.

Houmagne soon became a flourishing place, and its riches and prosperity rapidly increased. As its inhabitants were composed of a mixture of Roman Catholics, members of the Greek catholic church, and of the Greek

non-united schismatic church, several priests of the Roman and Greek churches came hither for the purposes of education and proselytism. This caused some alarm among the clergy of the Greek church.\* An ill-feeling was engendered, and mutual calumnies and recriminations, with the various bickerings of religious animosity, followed in their train.

Gonta, living under the protection of Mladanovicz, a courtier by nature, and gifted with much acuteness of intellect, contrived to insinuate himself into the good graces of his master, the Palatine Pototski; who, highly appreciating the valour and abilities of his vassal, gave him the command of his Cossack troops. He also ameliorated his condition, enabled him to contract an advantageous marriage, and placed him in the proprietary tenure of two villages for a rent almost nominal.

Gonta did not at first show himself unworthy of his master's bounty, and appeared to be actuated by a devoted attachment to his benefactor. As he at all times lived in perfect harmony with Mladanovicz, to whom he confided his two sons; and as the palatine's high opinion of him was daily increasing, Gonta was entrusted with the command of all the baronial or seignoral troops in the neighbourhood; and was cajoled, humoured, and flattered, as always happens in similar circumstances. Availing himself of all the advantages he enjoyed, he gained extensive influence and great consideration in the Ukraine; and became the favourite

of all the Cossacks, over whose minds he had obtained a powerful ascendancy.

In the meanwhile the empress of Russia, alarmed at the progress of the confederates of Bar, and having been apprised that there was a misunderstanding between Felicyan Volodkovicz, the metropolitan bishop of the united Greek church, and Melchisedeck Javorski, the superior of a schismatic monastery of the Greco-Russian faith, resolved to take advantage of this circumstance in order to bring about a definitive and permanent disunion, and thus facilitate the rebellion of the common people against the nobles. She accordingly despatched her emissaries into all the Greco-Russian monasteries, situated for the most part in isolated places in the depths of the forests of Tasmina, as well as on the confines of the steppes of the Ukraine. These delegates, by their insidious counsels, as we have already mentioned, were the original authors and abettors of the rebellion of Zelezniaque. But it appeared to her of the utmost importance to gain possession of the town of Houmagne, in which great numbers of the nobles had taken refuge, in order that she might have a point of support for giving an effectual impulse to the revolt; and this it seemed impossible to do without the concurrence and co-operation of Gonta. Zelezniaque, at the head of the Haïdamaques, made himself master of Medvedovka, Zabatine, Smila, Zvinigrod, and captured the castle of Lysianka, by stratagem, as well as several other places. He then

pursued his march at the head of his bands, distributing arms to the peasants as he passed along, and, preceded by numerous schismatic priests, arrived near to Houg-magne. Gonta, the chief of the Cossacks, having incurred suspicion, Mladanovicz apprised him of the fact, and accused him of tampering with the fidelity of the troops under his command. Gonta exculpated himself by protestations of gratitude, and renewed his oath of fidelity at the front of his Cossacks, drawn up in array. The confidence formerly reposed in him by Mladanovicz was, by this public declaration, renewed; and he sent him with one of his friends to convey provisions into the town, at that time crowded with fugitives, and to give battle to the bands of Zelezniakue. During this time General Nisse, then holding the chief command in this country, withdrew his forces from the town, in conformity with secret orders he had received. He also clandestinely induced a Prussian major, who happened to be in the neighbourhood for the purpose of making a purchase of horses, to follow his example; so that there remained in the town but a very small number of soldiers, for the most part invalided, who could not be openly withdrawn at so short a notice, without causing alarm to the inhabitants. These soldiers were sacrificed. A political problem had to be solved, and the blood of a few infirm men was not to be spared under the working of the Machiavellian councils of the cabinet of St. Petersburg. After the retreat of the confederates, and the with-

drawal of the regular troops, and the departure of Gonta, a sudden horror, a dark presentiment of coming ruin, seized every heart.

In this phase of events, the arrival of Nekrassa was expected. Nekrassa was a young chief of Polish Cossacks, whose known valour, high military talents, and implacable hatred to all that was Russian, gained him the utmost confidence and esteem. He was to effect a junction with the troops of Gonta, after having gained some recent advantages over the Haïdamaques as well as the Russians. No breath of suspicion had tarnished the high principles of patriotism and honour by which he was actuated, and it was asserted he was in possession of such knowledge as would unmask the dark perfidy of the Moscovite cabinet. Gonta was near Sakolovka, when Nekrassa joined him, at the head of a small deputation of Polish nobles, in order to concert measures for saving the town of Houmagne, which could only be done by immediately attacking the Haïdamaques under Zelezniaque. To secure the co-operation of Gonta, a large sum was offered him by this deputation, in the name of the Polish nobles, an equal sum from the Palatinate Pototski, together with the property of two villages as an heir-loom to his family, to be selected at Gonta's own choice, from his vast domains. To these gifts were also to be added a high commission in his troops, and Mladanovicz was to arrive with the legal documents of the cession of the two villages, the names of which were to be inserted in the title deeds, accord-



ing to the direction of Gonta. Having listened to and discussed the proposals of Nekrassa, Gonta accepted them, and a final arrangement seemed thus to have been effected.

By a strange fatality, however, Mladanovicz did not make his appearance with the expected papers. Gonta, perhaps not without reason, attributed his absence to an evasion on the part of the palatine, relative to the donation of the villages. Mladanovicz, who was no stranger to the intended enrichment of Gonta, might have been jealous of losing even a small part of his master's possessions, and his blind devotedness might have made him forget that it is sometimes the soundest policy to be generous from interested motives. Nekrassa and the other members of the deputation had no sooner taken leave of Gonta with a favourable reply, than Basil, bishop of Tcheigrine, of the Greco-Russian faith, suddenly came into the presence of the wavering chief. This ecclesiastic was the principal organiser of the rebellion, and he was aided in his godless design by two hundred priests, who were then sanctioning bloodshed and murder by their blasphemous preachings throughout the Ukraine. Basil was the bearer of titles and presents for Gonta, and by high-sounding promises on the part of the Empress of Russia, he endeavoured to prevail upon him to declare himself against the Poles, to join Zelezniaque, and to deliver up the town of Houmagne. He represented to him that the king of Poland was secretly favourable to the rebellion, and

that he was borne out in this assertion by the conduct of Branetzki. Still all the insidious persuasions of this infamous prelate seemed incapable of alienating Gonta, who, in expressing his refusal, dwelt upon the bounty of the palatine his benefactor. At these words the Russian prelate, with Satanic joy beaming in his looks, informed Gonta that the palatine, whom he till now had deemed his benefactor, had been guilty of criminal conversation with his wife; and he placed before Gonta's eyes written evidences of the truth of his allegation. It is not known, and perhaps it never will be known, whether the letters which he exhibited to him, and which Gonta believed to be in the handwriting of his wife, were authentic or fabricated. That fac-similes of writing are sometimes undistinguishable from the genuine copy is well known. Authors vary in their statements relative to the production of the letters: we have heard the fact averred by many persons, and have read it in the Memoirs of Colonel Lagowski, who spent a part of his life in the Ukraine. After reading the letters, Gonta's countenance betrayed the anger that was raging in his heart: the inward struggle escaped not the scrutinising eye of the wily delegate, who scarce had time to renew his subtle persuasions, when Gonta declared against his country. The Cossacks under his command fraternised with the Haïdamaques under Zelezniak, in a small wood called *Grekhova-lasek*, rendered famous by this event. When the junction had been effected, the army of the rebels confessed them-

selves, with their chiefs, on this spot, and received absolution from the Greco-Russian priests, arrayed in their sacerdotal robes, to carry on a war of extermination against their unoffending fellow-creatures.

Gonta, by the abominable stratagem of pretending to re-victual the town, succeeded in taking possession of Houmagne at the close of day, and so artfully did he concert his plans, that Zelezniaque's forces gradually advanced, and seized the most important posts, while the inhabitants still believed themselves in safety. Mladanovicz had an interview with Gonta, whose treachery now became apparent, and to endeavour to soften his heart, he conducted to him, his (Gonta's) two sons, who had been confided to his care. The people flocked to the churches, in which mass was celebrated, that they might be prepared to meet the fearful doom which now appeared to be inevitable. We have before observed that the garrison was composed of a few feeble and infirm soldiers. All resistance was therefore vain. The inhabitants were ordered to bring out all their effects into the public squares and open places, to ransom their lives with all the property they possessed. These orders had not been fully executed, when Gonta murdered his two sons with his own hand. He then commanded that Mladanovicz should, in his presence, be transfixed with pikes through his body, and borne along by a party of the soldiers. Thus perished Mladanovicz in the most horrible agonies. The inhabitants, to

the number of eighteen thousand, were put to the sword; and although the greater number of the nobles defended themselves with the courage of lions, all were massacred. The bloody orgies lasted three days. A few young females, on their conversion to the Greco-Russian faith, were saved, being purified with holy-water, and assigned by lot to the Haïdamaques.<sup>b</sup>

After this terrible event, Gonta, who took the command of all the rebels, pursued the work of carnage. Detachments of troops pillaged Granof, Toplik, Daszof, Tulczyn, Monasterzyska, Haysyn, Bossovka, and Ladiszyn, while the inferior chiefs carried desolation as far as Balta, on the banks of the Dniester, in the Pobereze, and even to Turkey, as well as to the environs of Kiow. Soon after, however, some bands of the Haïdamaques were completely exterminated by Nkrassa with his Polish troops. The communes of Ositna, Kuzminogrobla, Subska, Siennitsa, and Podwysokie, signalized themselves by an heroic resistance and an unalterable attachment to their masters, who nobly recompensed them.

The main body of the Haïdamaques still remained at Houmagne under Gonta and Zelezniaque, when a detachment of Don Cossacks under Goloriva, and a body of Russian infantry under Kretchetnikoff, appeared in the vicinity of the town. Both these officers had received secret instructions to observe the Haïdamaques, and to gain the confidence of their chiefs. Goloriva visited these officers, gave them counsel,

and performed his mission with considerable ability. When the troops headed by Nekrassa began to defeat and pursue the Haïdamaques in every direction, Gonta with his chiefs went to visit Goloriva, who received them with courtesy and marked politeness. Then, having secured their horses so as to prevent their escape, he suddenly changed his tone, and threw them into irons. He then attacked and routed the Haïdamaques conjointly with the Poles, who surrounded them on all sides, and delivered up Gonta with eighteen hundred of the rebels to General Branetzki by the orders of Kretchetnikoff. Branetzki found means to convey a secret message to Gonta, to assure him that if he would observe strict silence and make no oral declaration, he would save him from impending death; but the same messenger was charged with an especial order to Goloriva that he should command his Cossacks to cut out the tongue and chop off the right hand of Gonta, under some frivolous pretext, in order to prevent him divulging state secrets. It is to be remarked, that after the murder of his two boys, Gonta's mind was partly deranged. He could never sleep nor take any rest; he constantly fancied he saw the ghosts of his children and of his mother cursing him. He spoke often to them in the dead of the night; and before his execution, which took place in November, he bore already all the weight of the punishment of his horrible crimes. When one of the Haïdamaques discovered the son of Mladanovicz, a boy of ten years

of age, who escaped death by accident, and conducted him to Gonta, the latter, moved by pity, not only saved his life but took care of him, paid him the greatest possible attention, and seems to have been particularly fond of that child, who, well acquainted with him, constantly asked what became of his father with tears and lamentations. He twice escaped almost certain death, and was only wrested from Gonta's arms half-an-hour before his execution. It is also to be remarked that, after the rout of the Haïdamaques, when Gonta entered a small cottage near Serby, he discovered in it a female whom he had seduced in his youth, and who had predicted to him, captivity and a terrible death. She was a natural daughter of a Turkish prisoner, and a Bohemian woman. She had received a good education and possessed great accomplishments, and was for a long time the acknowledged mistress of General Branetzki, who, even after his marriage with the niece of Potemkin, secretly visited her. This woman (Marylka) had a tame fox which followed her everywhere and of which she was very fond. General Branetzki passing accidentally through the village saw the well-known fox entering the barn; he soon concluded that his mistress must be there, and followed it; but found Gonta kneeling at the feet of his former affection. From that time he felt for him an intense hatred, which was never abated. Marylka had a child, which was carried off by the Tatars, and not being able to recover it, she fell into deep melancholy, disappeared, and in-

habited for many years under another name, an isolated dwelling on the banks of the Dniester. She had the reputation in the neighbourhood of having connexion with evil spirits. (See Memoirs of Colonel Lagawski). Goloriva acted in strict conformity with the instructions he had received. Gonta was condemned at Serby, with every necessary formality, to undergo publicly the terrible punishment of the hooks, of mutilation, and death; and he was executed in the presence of a great many eye-witnesses at the head-quarters of Branetski. The severity of the punishment he underwent was augmented by incredible barbarities, and the survivors of his family were sent into perpetual banishment in Siberia. The booty carried off by the Haïdamaques (November, 1768), which amounted to a considerable sum, was divided for the most part between Branetski and Kretchetnikoff and some of the inferior officers. Although Branetski appeared to be devoted to Russia, and although he had married the niece of Potemkin, a marriage which brought him great riches, all accounts agree more or less in ascribing his apparent zeal to his desire to usurp the throne of Poniatowski, while he detested the Russians in his heart. For whenever intoxication unlocked the secrets of his breast, he rarely concealed the antipathy he had against them. Doubtless he was not free from dissimulation, but he was certainly endowed with considerable talent, and if he had ascended the throne of Poland he would likely have saved that unhappy country. But Russia well knew with what sort

of a man she would have had to deal, and Branetski remained without further promotion. After the death of Gonta, the Haidamaques being routed everywhere, were executed by thousands in all the southern parts of Poland. They were hanged, they were quartered, they were beheaded, during the space of several months. The greatest number of them suffered at Leopold, Lysianka, Berdyczew, Zytomirz, Kodnia.

During the massacre of the rebellion, a great many Polish families, driven from their houses by fear, wandered shelterless in the plains of Moldavia. The hospodar, however, was ordered to cause them to withdraw from his province. They had then no asylum nor place of refuge whither they could betake themselves; but as the Turks were favourable to Poland, it was suggested to them, that they should proceed further into the heart of the country, to be more removed from the observation of the Russian agents. They accordingly retired into the interior of the province, when the Russians proclaimed the restoration of tranquillity in the Ukraine, and invited them to return, that they might repossess their estates, to prevent them falling into the hands of unauthorised occupants. This was a dark and infamous snare laid to entrap them; and all those who returned during the year 1769 were put to the sword, by a new band of assassins organised by Tymienko. The dissolution of all social order was universal throughout the Ukraine. No one who was known to have signed the confederation of Bar escaped destruc-



tion. Persecution, anarchy, and vengeance, exercised their direful sway during the space of several years, and the judicial executions did not cease till 1773. It is not possible to determine the exact number of those who were the victims of this terrible outbreak, more terrible, perhaps, than any which history records.

In the space of a few months the Ukraine was changed from its flourishing and beautiful aspect into a vast desert, where "death and fire had altogether gorged the spoils of victory." Five towns, sixty boroughs, and a thousand villages were destroyed; more than two hundred thousand of the inhabitants, without reckoning those that were assassinated by Tymienko, lost their lives. The number of judicial executions amounted to six thousand; a number more than sufficient to entail upon the authors of this sanguinary carnage the execrations of posterity to the remotest ages. The Russian agents doomed beforehand to the scaffold those whom they excited to revolt in the sacred name of religion, while Russian policy reaped in this expedition two advantages—the subjection of the Ukraine, and the weakening of the Zaporogians.

The most numerous body of Haïdamaques, under Zelezniaque never amounted to more than fifty thousand men; but there were several other bands under different leaders. At this time there lived in the Ukraine an aged Cossack, named Vernyhora, who by his influence and humane feeling, often prevented the shedding of blood. He even predicted the fall of Poland,

but also foretold its future regeneration. The confederation of Bar was fraught with more danger to Russia, than any other insurrection hitherto directed against her.

Gonta was a man of middle stature, and was thin, beardless, and feminine in his features. He had neither the ferocious look nor the vigorous frame of Zelezniak, but he surpassed him in quickness of invention, and in the arts of dissimulation. There was an evident perfidiousness lurking in his cat-like eyes; but he seldom looked his interlocutor in the face, while the honied words of persuasion flowed from his lips. He paid the penalty of his fiendish career in the very prime of his life. The town of Houmagne still exists; its ancient fortifications were razed by the orders of the Russian government in 1812, and a wooden palisade now only surrounds it. Its owner, Count Alexander Pototski, is amongst the emigrants from his country. He was a colonel in the Russian army, and only a few weeks before the conclusion of the last fruitless irruption against the Russians he put on the Polish uniform, which cost him a little kingdom. This nobleman is passionately fond of music; he is a genuine lover of the fine arts, and is remarkable for the suavity and amenity of his manners, as well as for his many excellent qualities. His features and look are Ukrainian. He often resides in Paris, and appears to attract the admiration of the ladies of high rank by his elegant conversation and dignified manners. It is said that he

refused to avail himself of the amnesty in which the emperor of Russia intended to include him. He is the brother of the amiable Countess Kisielef, whose charming disposition, united to a romantic turn of mind and distinguished elegance, were, a few years ago, the theme of admiration in the high circles of Parisian society. This it is said excited the jealousy of the czar.

In sketching the political events of the Ukraine, and the fate of the two principal Moloch-destroyers of its inhabitants, during the sanguinary rebellion which has been the subject of our narrative, we may for a moment employ our imaginations, while thinking of that soil which has imbibed the gore of so many of the unhappy sons of men. We may contemplate the cupolas of the churches, reflecting the red rays like waves of blood from the broad crimson disk of the setting sun, and we may console ourselves with the reflection that blood barbarously shed cries to Heaven for vengeance; thousands of accusing voices will be raised to the footstool of mercy, and Heaven is just.

See *Anarchie de Pologne*; *Pamiętniki Xiedza Mładowicza*; the works of Lesur, sur les Cosaques; *Life of Catherine II.*; *L'Histoire de Pologne*, by Lelevel; *La Pologne Pittoresque*; *W. Took*; *Les trois Dèmembrements de Pologne*, par Ferrand; *Cox's Travels*; *Swientski*, &c.

## CHAPTER VII.

SAVA (KALINSKI).

Origin not well known—The last among the Cossack chiefs faithful to Poland before her ultimate partition—Celebrated among the Cossacks—Comes late to the Confederation of Bar—His deadly hatred to the Russians—Raised by the sole ascendancy of his character and his military talents to a command of small Corps composed of the Polish Nobles and the Polish chosen Cossacks—Performs extraordinary feats of valour—Beats successively several Russian Generals—Seldom gives Quarter—Takes in five months fifteen pieces of cannon, one hundred waggons, and two chests—Is the terror of the Russians—Advises to make an Insurrection among the Cossacks—Combines the Polish valour with the patience and cunning of the ancient Cossacks—Pressed by Sauvarof, fights a hard battle at Szrensk—Already victorious, receives a gun-shot in the leg—Deposed in the forest of Pszasnysz—Betrayed by a Jewish surgeon—Delivered to the Russians—Dies from ill-treatment—The ablest among the Confederate Chiefs.

THE exploits of this, the last of the Cossack chiefs who remained faithful to Poland, are of sufficient importance to merit particular notice. Weakened and disorganized as were the Cossack body by the defection to Turkey of Nekrassa and his adherents, the remnant still constituted a formidable power, at the head of whom Sava immortalized his name by prodigies of valour, and by his consummate skill in the art of partisan warfare.

Sava was, originally, a Cossack of the Ukraine, but was animated by feelings of the most implacable hatred against all that bore the very name of Russian, and by a burning thirst for revenge against the barbarians who had murdered his relative and committed unheard-of atrocities in Poland. He enlisted into the confederation of Bar, and, in a short time, without name, without influence or protection, and by the sole aid of his natural genius and the ascendancy of his firm and energetic character, he acquired the friendship and esteem of the confederated chiefs, and created for himself a position of superior command.

Fighting after the manner of the ancient Cossacks, from whose traditions he had drawn the resources of his genius as a military tactician ; subtle, persevering, and impenetrable in his plan of operations ; at once cunning, daring, cautious, and intrepid ; wary, active, and yet intangible to the enemy ; suffering near him neither rival nor confidant, he spread carnage and destruction amongst the Russians, to whom he scarcely ever gave quarter or respite. He defeated in succession a number of Sauvarof's best lieutenants ; gaining over them a series of brilliant advantages ; seizing upon their baggage-trains, cutting off their communications ; exterminating their detachments, and falling constantly either on the flanks or on the rear of their columns. He shifted about from place to place with almost fabulous rapidity, and allowed no rest, whether by day or

night, to the Russian armies. All the expeditions attempted against him utterly failed one after the other, and Sauvarof himself, who by order of the Empress Catherine had put a price upon his head, could not refrain from testifying repeatedly his admiration of the outlawed Cossack chief.

Amongst other unfortunate results of the failure of the confederates' plan of operations, badly concerted by the foreign general Dumouriez, who was defeated by Sauvarof, and which proved so disastrous in its consequences to the confederation of Bar, Sava, who from the first had disapproved of the arrangements in question, being suddenly pursued by the *élite* of Sauvarof's army, consisting of far superior forces and a numerous train of artillery, was driven on the night of the 25th April, (1771), between the defiles of Szrensk. Thus hemmed in within the narrow limits of two dykes, the intrepid partizan warrior faced about, and resolved either to die on the spot or to cut a free passage for himself and his troops over the bodies of his pursuers. The conflict was fierce and desperate on either side, and lasted the whole of the following day. Sava repeatedly rallied his cavalry under the murderous Russian fire of grape-shot and musketry; he took, lost, and retook five times in succession the fatal dyke: and having at last found a lateral passage towards Przasnysz, he succeeded in striking down all that opposed his exit at this point, and had mounted to the roof of a house, to give from

thence the last orders to his already victorious troops, when a gun-shot shattered his leg. Fearing that this accident might damp the ardour of his soldiers, he had himself carried amongst them on a litter, encouraging them by his presence, and directing their final attack. He had, indeed, the satisfaction of beholding the Russians beaten and pursued, but unable longer to support the increasing agony of his wound, aggravated by the motion of the litter, he gave orders to his troops to continue their march, and had himself secretly conveyed into the interior of a neighbouring forest. But a Jewish surgeon who attended him gave information of his retreat; he was delivered up to the Russian Colonel Salomon, whom Sava had often defeated; and who, astonished at the capture he had thus made, treated, it is said, with all possible kindness the unhappy chief, to whom he ordered that every attention should be paid. But Sava, exasperated by pain, and disdaining to owe any kind of obligation to a Russian, whom he never by any chance spared, tore the bandages from his wounds, opened them afresh, and enlarged them with his nails, pertinaciously refusing to accept of the proffered aid. Subsequently he was claimed by Sauvarof, who, in revenge for the repeated discomfitures which his lieutenants had met with at the hands of the now helpless Sava, overwhelmed him with insult, treated him with cruelty, and finally, exasperated by his haughty answers, had him put to death.

Such was the end of this terrible partizan chief, who, with his own hand, killed thirty-two Russians, defeated them several times in the field, and who contemplated raising the whole of the Cossacks in open insurrection against Russia. In order to form some idea of Sava's military capacity, it may be remarked that, in the short space of five months, having scarcely 1,800 men, he had destroyed three Russian divisions, had taken fifteen pieces of cannon, two military chests, one hundred military waggons, eighty officers, and some standards: and all this at a period when the Russian army was in its highest state of efficiency and discipline.

His advice to the confederates had always been that king Poniatowski should be dethroned or killed without much ado, and that Repnin and Drevitch should, if possible, be caught alive, in order that they might be torn to pieces limb from limb. The latter had ordered the right hand to be severed from each of three hundred confederate prisoners, and it is said that he himself cut off the hands of nine of these unfortunate victims, whom he afterwards paraded through the streets of Warsaw. Sava, by way of retaliation, had the soldiers of this Russian man-butcher put to the sword without mercy.

Kazimir Pulawski, Sava, and Zaremba were beyond all doubt the three most able chieftains of the Confederation of Bar. Pulawski defeated Sauvarof once, and was in his turn twice defeated, but rose again more



formidable than ever. We have just mentioned the fate of Sava.

Zaremba, formerly a major in the army, was never once beaten nor taken by surprise. Impatient of any superior command, he could never be brought to make his operations subservient to any combined or paramount plan of attack ; consequently, he always acted individually, or in a manner on his own account. At a later period, nevertheless, losing all hope of ultimate success, he deserted the cause of the Confederation, abandoned his troops, and went over to the Prussians, by whom as well as by the Russians he allowed himself to be corrupted.

In the course of the struggle against this famous Confederation, the Russians lost upwards of 65,000 of their best troops.

The fate of the principal Confederates was singular. Krasinski, the Bishop of Kamienietz, succeeded by his extraordinary activity to make hostile treaties to Russia, with Turkey and Saxony, and died, with his brother and F. Pototski, a natural death. The old Pulawski, who was a lawyer of Prince Czartoryski, unjustly accused of treason, died in irons at Constantinople, and before his death gave his blessing to his sons provided they did not avenge his death. One of his sons was taken prisoner and sent to Siberia, where he fought under Pugatchef, the other and his nephew were killed at Lomazy, and Kazimir, the last, went to America, and was killed at Savannah.

There are still extant in the Ukraine a host of popular songs or ballads commemorating with tolerable fidelity not only the tragical end of Sava, but likewise his victories over the Russians, his attachment to Poland, and the leading exploits of his adventurous life. They all bear, as did also the character of Sava himself, the easily perceptible impress of that bias for the sombre, the romantic, and darkly mysterious in poetry, which has ever been the peculiar mark of the inhabitants of the Ukraine.

See *Anarchie de Pologne*, by Roulhière ; *Les trois Demembrements de Pologne*, by Ferrand ; *Life of Catherine II.* ; the works of Lelevel ; and *Pologne Pittoresque*.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## ROZYCKI.

An ancient Lieutenant of the Polish army—Resides near the borders of the Ukraine—Drills a detachment of the Polish insurgents in the middle of the Russian armies—Surrounded by the Russian Regulars, vanquishes them—Breaks several squares of the Russian infantry with young men who had never been under fire—Proceeds to Międzyrzec, in Volhynia—Marches through the Russian armies in the night as Russian Cossacks—Orders to speak Russian—Destroys a Russian detachment—Marches towards Poland—Gallant affair before the village of Novosilki—Cuts to pieces the Russian infantry regiment of the Duke of Wellington—Makes his junction with the Polish army near the fortress of Zamosc—Is made a Colonel—Gallant affair at Ilza, where he kills the Colonel of the dragoon regiment of Kargopol, and routes superior forces—Rises in fame—Excites jealousy—Beats superior Russian forces—Intends to raise the whole of the Russian provinces against Russia—Dreaded and beloved by his soldiers, inspires great confidence—Is never vanquished, and maintains rigid discipline to the end of the war—Great military and administrative capacities—The only Partizan of note in the last War—Believes in the success of the Insurrection in the Ukraine on a large scale—Adventure of the Marquis of Douro and the Emperor of Russia—Their misunderstanding—Douro leaves Kalisz—Returns to England.

In the late war by Poland against Russia in 1831, a war so badly conducted, and the disastrous results of which are to be attributed more to the incapacity of its directors than to any other cause, there shone forth,

nevertheless, some military characters well worthy of admiration and renown; and amongst which must certainly be included Charles Rozycki, of whose victories I shall now endeavour to trace a rapid but faithful sketch.

Rozycki was at the time a retired officer, residing on the borders of the Ukraine. No sooner did he perceive that circumstances afforded him an opportunity of serving the cause of his native country, than he contrived to form, to organize, and to animate with his own ardent spirit, in the midst of hostile Russian forces, and as we may say, indeed, in their very teeth, a detachment of light cavalry, mounted and armed according to the ancient Polish-Cossack fashion; at the head of which, surrounded as he was by infinitely superior numbers of the enemy, he made good his escape, and, subsequently, performed a series of brilliant achievements.

After surmounting the greatest difficulties, and the fatigues and hazards of a twenty-five days' march, he succeeded in joining the Polish army near the fortress Zamosc.

Promoted to the rank of colonel, he soon became conspicuous for his enterprising bravery; constantly breaking through their squares of infantry, and routing every squadron of cavalry he attacked, he became a terror to the Russians: and even towards the end of this war, and in the midst of the general anarchy and disorder of the Polish army, he managed to maintain, in his own regiment, the strictest discipline; so that his

name spread consternation and dismay to such an extent, that the Russians, who well knew his detachments, more than once evidently avoided measuring their forces with them.

The intrigues of petty rivalry, the mean and sordid machinations of jealousy, and more especially the miserable incapacity of certain pretenders to military talent, whose measures served but to engender mistrust and discouragement throughout the army, prevented the really splendid talents of Rozycki from being adequately and efficiently employed; nay, on more than one occasion it was but too apparent that these very *soi-disant* patriots, who were incessantly blaming every thing, inventing nothing; and who, in point of fact, at the most critical and important juncture, purposely checked or withheld the forces organized for the defence of the country; were absolutely desirous of getting rid of him altogether.

As Rozycki was the victor in several engagements, and as I am unable, for the moment, to procure access to the details of all his military successes, I shall here confine myself to a relation, and that too but cursory and incomplete, of such only of his principal military achievements as appear to me to contain the most striking points of interest.

When Rozycki left his native district, he had with him but two hundred horsemen and fifty carabineers. Out of the two hundred troopers there were but seventy-three who might be properly said to have been

tolerably well armed ; that is to say, with regular lances, the rest had nothing save long wooden poles, tipped with large iron nails sharpened to a point. Amongst this little troop of insurgents, was here and there to be seen a sabre or a pistol ; the carabineers, famous marksmen it is true, had neither much ammunition nor good carabines ; the whole troop, in fact, was wretchedly armed.

Scarcely had Rozycki quitted his village, when several detachments of the Russian troops intercepted his road : other bodies of the enemy followed close upon his little band.

In front of a wood on the road by which he must of necessity pass, three battalions of Russian infantry marched forward to meet him, and immediately formed into squares ; the enemy's cavalry was fast closing upon his rear.

Rozycki saw plainly that there was no time to be lost. He gave instant orders to his troops to attack the first square of infantry ; the attack succeeded ; the young insurgents, who had never yet stood fire, dashed upon the square, which they cut to pieces ; the second and third were in like manner broken and destroyed : a small number of the fugitives rallied in the wood. In the interval, the Russian cavalry had come up ; had deployed, and were preparing to charge ; on perceiving which, Rozycki caused his own to retire slowly : the Russian horse kept following close upon their heels. Suddenly, Rozycki, finding that there was now a wall

covering one of his flanks, halted, faced about, and at a given signal, the insurgents being excellently mounted, fell like lightning upon the enemy's cavalry, to the cry of "Death to the Muscovites! no quarter!" The Russians gave way, and were in an instant broken, defeated, and pursued with great slaughter; but they were in great numbers; they endeavoured to rally near a garden wall; Rozycki, however, had anticipated this manoeuvre, and had secretly posted all his carabineers behind the wall, under favour of a dry ditch running behind it, and along which, at the commencement of the action, they had passed unnoticed, by creeping with their heads held down. For the moment, he delayed to harass the routed, but now rallying enemy, with his reserve; waiting the favourable instant for augmenting their confusion and taking advantage of their disorder. On a sudden, at the word "*pal*" (signifying "fire!" in Polish), the carabineers, who had taken steady aim at nearly every Russian cavalier of note, making a simultaneous discharge, brought down several of the Russian officers, as likewise a great number of men and horses. The most terrific disorder ensued; Rozycki's reserve now made a desperate charge, and so scared the Russian cavalry, that they broke through and trampled down their own infantry. The latter, indeed, closing again, attempted to advance to renew the engagement; but were cut to pieces and nearly exterminated. Rozycki, after having collected together all the muskets, sabres, cartridges, and sound horses, pushed forwards on his

march ; taking the precaution of breaking down all the bridges he left behind him on his road.

In this brilliant action he lost but very few of his own troops, and did considerable damage to the Russians. Its result was, to raise the courage and greatly increase the confidence of his adherents, whose conduct on the occasion was indeed admirable.

A few forced marches brought him to Międzyrzec (Miandzirjëtz), a town in Volhynia, now belonging to the Princess M. Radzivil, (by birth Countess Alexandrina Stecka, 'Stetska,') a lady, whose intelligence, superior mind, and noble sentiments, joined to her many accomplishments, elegant manners, and various other advantages, both natural and acquired, might well render their possessor worthy to adorn a throne. Her husband had, from the commencement of the war of 1831, the nominal command of the entire Polish army ; a post in which he conducted himself in all respects as became a man of honour. After the fall of Warsaw, he was taken prisoner by the Russians, and sent in exile to Siberia ; whence, after the lapse of a few years, he was, by the exertions of his wife, and the intercession in his behalf of the court of Prussia, permitted to return to Warsaw. The Międzyrzec in question must not be confounded with another town of the same name, situated about fifty-eight miles (English) to the east of Warsaw, belonging to Prince C. Czartoryski ; and, in the neighbourhood of which there was a battle fought on the 29th of August, 1831, wherein



the Russians, although far superior in number to the Polish forces, were completely beaten; and at which battle the author was present. It was in this engagement that a single Polish regiment, the 5th of the line, led by Colonel Rychlowski, exterminated, with the bayonet, three entire Russian regiments, in a cemetery.

To return, however, to Rozycki. As the news of the remarkable victory he had just gained had already preceded him, his arrival was welcomed by the ringing of all the church bells; the whole population poured out of the town to receive him. Money, provisions, and horses, were furnished him in abundance; whilst a swarm of young schoolboys rushed into the street, kissing the feet of the officers and soldiers, and conjuring them to lead them on to fight against the Russians. It was in vain that they were remonstrated with, and told to recollect that they were, as yet, but children; that a time would come when they might prove themselves of real service to their country; whilst, by insisting upon following the insurgent troops, they would only incur the risk of being cruelly persecuted by the Russians for thus openly declaring their sentiments; that they had far better, therefore, return back to their respective schools. The boys turned a deaf ear to all the reasoning that could be urged against them; they wept, vociferated, and were absolutely bent on following Rozycki's detachment; and, better, indeed, had it been for them, as the sequel proved, if they had been allowed to have their own way, and to follow the regiment. In

order to appease them in some sort, they were permitted to tend upon the wounded ; and Rozycki, having reinforced his small troop by the addition of a few good horsemen, and gathered all the information possible as to the whereabouts and movements of the enemy, left Miendzyrzec, and marched forward a few miles. Shortly afterwards, however, he received authentic warning from his faithful scouts, that several Russian columns, supported by artillery, were already waiting on his road to intercept his advance. He likewise received intelligence that some detachments of Russian cavalry were following on his rear ; and that some of them had entered Miendzyrzec immediately on his quitting that town. After listening attentively to all these reports, and having well considered, scrutinized, and weighed them, he altered his plan of advance, and returned back by a side-road to the town. Here, upon re-entering, he heard cries of lamentation and hopeless distress : the Russians had just massacred all the schoolboys they could meet with in the streets ; and the bodies of the youthful victims were lying scattered in every direction bathed in blood. Fired with indignation at sight of this heartless butchery, he fell by surprise upon the Russian troops who were in the town, cut them to pieces, and exterminated nearly every Russian he could find in Miendzyrzec : then, profiting by the darkness of the night, and conducted by faithful guides, he passed in safety the numerous columns of the enemy ; for as he ordered the Russian language to be spoken by his men,

and as his detachment was in the Cossack dress, and was armed after the Cossack fashion, it was easily mistaken for a regular body of the Russo-Cossack troops. By forced marches, he arrived facing the village of Novosilki, in the full belief that he had now surmounted the chief of his difficulties, but here it was, precisely, that the very greatest difficulties of all, and the most imminent danger awaited him: for the enemy, having, by accident, now ascertained the true object and direction of his line of march, all the Russian columns had concentrated their movements on this spot, in order to come up with him, and effectually prevent his further advance.

In order that the reader may be enabled to form some idea of the extraordinary nature of the conflict I am about to describe, I consider it absolutely essential that he should previously be made acquainted with the peculiar local circumstances of the ground whereon it took place.

Fronting the village of Novosilki, there is a marshy river, over which was a bridge in very good repair, and, as my readers will probably have already anticipated, in Rozycki's front. This bridge was guarded by a Russian infantry-battalion of the Duke of Wellington's regiment, and by some companies of sappers and miners posted at the entrance to the village, with several pieces of cannon: at some thousand paces from the village in question, there was a fordable passage over the river; this spot was guarded by six hundred Russian Cossacks of the Don;

facing the village there was a raised dyke or elongated mound, about a thousand feet (English) in length, and of considerable height, abutting on the bridge. Two roads, from opposite directions met on the embankment. The right side of this embankment was unapproachable, on account of the marshes; the left side was somewhat more accessible.

Rozycki, marching on the top of the embankment, at once perceived that his fate, one way or the other, must speedily be decided: he ordered one half of his horsemen slowly to descend the dyke, with a few carabineers; and made a show of seriously intending an attack on the Cossacks; but, in reality, he wished to sound their dispositions, or at all events, to keep them off as far as possible, to avoid being placed between two fires. The Cossacks, who have an antipathy to serious attacks of every kind, began to fall back in visible alarm. Rozycki himself, now began to descend the dyke, whereupon the Cossacks moved off in full retreat.

Immediately on perceiving this manœuvre, the commander of the Russian infantry quitted the excellent position he occupied behind the bridge at the entrance of the village, and advanced rapidly on the dyke towards Rozycki; treating with contempt the advice of a veteran soldier, who conjured him not to stir a step forward, to have a little patience, and that, in less than an hour's time, the whole of the rebel detachment, as he termed it, would be annihilated. The commander replied to him with a sharp reprimand; telling him to

remember "that soldiers who had the honour to bear the illustrious name of the Duke of Wellington, must not be content to lie in wait for the enemy, like mice in their holes, but must have courage enough to attack him, openly, wheresoever he may appear, as did the duke at Waterloo!"

Rozycki seeing all this, and apprehensive that the least delay might prove fatal, suddenly reascended the dyke with his cavalry; formed them into platoons for a charge, and posted his small infantry force, by way of guard, on the accessible side of the embankment, in order to protect himself from a surprise on the part of the Cossacks. The Russians, who were advancing in serried columns, now formed into squares; here again a chance of the ground seemed to be greatly in favour of the Russian commander, as there was a small wooden bridge between him and Rozycki, by taking possession of which, or by destroying a few of its planks, he might greatly have embarrassed and impeded Rozycki's attack, and have thus materially aided his own defence: these precautions however he neglected. The insurgent Poles lowered their lances, and charged with impetuosity on the close ranks of the enemy: the Russian infantry reserved their fire, which commenced only when the Polish horsemen had arrived within ninety paces of their position. The foremost attacking platoons, however, were mounted on those choice and far-famed horses from the steppes of the Ukraine, the superior energy and spirit of which it would be

difficult to describe. Three of the insurgents rode down a few of the foot soldiers, and leaped into the square. This was the signal for the general disorder that ensued. A Russian infantryman cried out for quarter; the commander, with a blow from his sword, killed him on the spot, at the same time shouting—" *niet pardon dery sia!* (no quarter, fight away!)" But in another instant three Polish lances lifted him aloft into the air, and he fell dead to the earth. The carnage now commenced; the square once broken was speedily cut to pieces and all but exterminated: every officer perished, scarcely a soldier escaped. A second Russian detachment, who essayed to close the road to the Polish troops, was instantly overthrown; and Rozycki entered Novosilki, passing over the bridge, which he immediately began to demolish. Whilst his orders to this effect were still being executed, and the last remnants of the bridge were being destroyed, several columns of Russian infantry and cavalry, a number of field-pieces, and a whole army of Cossacks, were already mounting the embankment; but it was too late; Rozycki escaped with all his men; had the chains and fetters which had been prepared for him by the Russians, in anticipation of his capture, broken to pieces and thrown into the river, and ultimately made good his junction with the Polish army at Zamosc.

In the conduct of this famous skirmish, which saved this little Polish band of patriots from apparently almost certain destruction, and in which he lost but very

few of his men, we cannot deny to Rozycki, the merit of great courage and ability. The Russian commander, although on his part perhaps equally brave, and worthy both of a better cause and of a better fate, was as clearly deficient in military tact and keenness of observation ; he was, indeed, the cause of his own perdition : a daring and chivalrous courage, untempered by prudence, would appear to be far more serviceable to cavalry than to infantry, whose courage, especially in attacks from cavalry, should be of the tranquil and passive order. He forgot that the Duke of Wellington, whose name he invoked, and who fought seventy battles and gained seventy victories, never once omitted to turn to the best account all the advantages he might find to be available ; that he never left anything to chance ; never abused his power ; and, above all, never allowed his passions to interfere with nor to interrupt the cool exercise of his reason.

At a later period, another of Rozycki's military exploits was the destruction of Kargopol's Russian dragoon regiment, near Ilza ; and the dispersion of an enemy's force five times more numerous than his own, and provided moreover with artillery. The leading facts of this brilliant, indeed, almost romantic affair, may be thus briefly stated. The colonel in question, seeing Rozycki's small troop advancing to attack him, made with his hand a gesture of contempt, and accepted the proffered engagement before the whole of his artillery and the rest of his forces had come up. The con-

flict took place partly in a deep ravine. Rozycki, after he had beaten the dragoons, and with his own hand slain the Russian colonel, would not suffer the rest of the forces to deploy, keeping them blocked up in the ravine, and making repeated and incessant charges on the head of the enemy's column. After a most obstinate, deadly fight, of several hours' duration, he turned the column by his carabineers, and forced the enemy to take to flight.

Subsequently, and when Rozycki's military fame had begun to spread in all directions, a Russian colonel, who had distinguished himself in the preceding wars, experienced a vehement desire to measure his strength against him. As his forces were superior in number, and in the hope that he would prove victorious, his wish was complied with from head-quarters. At first they met together in a skirmish, but without any decided result. In the sequel, Rozycki affected to be afraid of him, and withdrew at his approach. Having by a few skilful manœuvres succeeded in drawing his antagonist gradually into a disadvantageous position, Rozycki now in his turn became the assailant, and the Russian colonel was beaten, and forced to retreat with the loss of nearly all his men.

Colonel Rozycki, who is at present living in exile in France, maintains that without the aid of artillery, there is no infantry in the world capable of resisting a properly directed charge of cavalry, well mounted, composed of courageous men, and led by skilful and



experienced officers. In this opinion, I venture to differ from him most completely. The very contrary I maintain to be the case. The English squares have never yet been broken. A good infantry force, in fine weather, ought to bid defiance to any species of cavalry whatever that can be brought against it.

Beyond all doubt, nevertheless, Rozycki, who was by no means destitute of administrative talent, who united in his own person all the requisite qualities of a partisan chief, who was not wanting in that admixture of persuasive eloquence and tact, so essential to the gaining over of zealous adherents to a cause; who could contrive to render himself at the same time beloved and feared; and who possessed, moreover, a profound and practical knowledge of the means and resources alike of Russian-Poland and of Russia itself: Rozycki was the only man of the period capable of organising those insurrections which have ever proved the most dangerous and effective weapon in a contest with Russia; and which, although entirely neglected in the war of 1831, will, to a certainty, be found indispensably requisite, and a most powerful adjunct, in any future effort which may be made by Poland for the recovery of her independence.

Unfortunately, and as a link, it would appear, in that chain of fatalities which has ever bound the Polish struggle for emancipation, Rozycki made his appearance only towards the close of the war. He was wont repeatedly to say, "give me but 3000 men, and I

will undertake to exterminate the corps of General Rudiger!" and most assuredly he would have redeemed his pledge. A great Polish noble, who is in the habit of listening only to the cool dictates of his reason, and not to the fervid suggestions of exalted sentimentality, and who had a thorough knowledge of Rozycki's capacity, used frequently to say, that provided only the chief military command in the Ukraine were given to the latter, and the civil government of that province to himself, the whole of the Russic provinces could be thrown into a state of revolt; 50,000 excellent cavalry troops be raised with ease in six weeks; and insurrectionary movements be everywhere so multiplied against Russia, that, in a couple of months, the Russians might be driven entirely from Poland; notwithstanding all the errors, blunders, and oversights that had been committed at the commencement of the war of 1831. At the same time, he maintained that nowhere else than in Russian Poland did the same facilities exist for a general, and from thence wide-spreading insurrection in favour of the Polish cause.

Rozycki has devoted himself, during his stay in Paris, to the assiduous study of military affairs. In person, he is above the usual height; his complexion is dark; and his face deeply pitted with the small-pox: although now passed the meridian of life, he being about sixty years of age, and his hair slightly turning grey, he is still strong and active, and in the

enjoyment of excellent health. Those now living, who served under him during the war of 1831, say that he scarcely ever slept; and that when on horse-back and giving his orders, there was so much of dignity in his manner and deportment, that he inspired, apart from the circumstances of his position, a certain feeling of deferential regard in all that approached him.

Rozycki says that the best officer can be sometimes beaten, but that it is an unpardonable blunder when he allows himself to be taken by surprise.

It is to be remarked that most of the Polish nobles, and the Polish Ukranian Cossacks, seem to possess almost by nature a considerable talent for the cavalry partisan war. This talent, however, is not always extended to the infantry.

On the subject of individual exploits, I have here perhaps been somewhat too diffuse; if so, my only exculpation is the satisfaction I experience in making known to the world the glorious achievements of my fellow-countrymen, when their authenticity, as in the present case, is founded not upon the hollow pretensions of would-be heroes, vaunted and bruited forth by subservient tools and artful intriguers, but upon actually accomplished facts and talents, proved and undisputed.

As I have just mentioned, indirectly, the Duke of Wellington's glorious name, a name which not only in the present age, but also in future ages, will

always be dear to every British heart, and will not cease to excite the admiration of the world, it may not be amiss to give a sketch of a misunderstanding which took place between his son, the Marquis of Douro, and the present Russian emperor Nicholas.

Some years ago, the Marquis of Douro visited Russia, for the purpose of enjoying the pleasure of wild bear hunting. Just as he was returning from the Russian dominions, where he had been most hospitably received, having heard that there was to be a review of 100,000 Russian and Prussian combined troops at Kalisz, in Western Poland, he stopped in that town.

The emperor of Russia and the king of Prussia were present at this review; and the former, wishing to oblige all the foreign officers there present, invited them, collectively, to dine at the imperial table. Douro, in consideration of his title, his connections, and in his quality of a British nobleman, recommendations fully appreciated abroad, had the *place d'honneur* assigned him, and was seated at the right of the emperor. It was remarked, the first and second day, that the emperor conversed freely with all the foreign officers present at his table, but never addressed one single word to his British guest. The Marquis of Douro, who is *un homme éveillé*, and who has the reputation of possessing strong perceptive powers, was somewhat piqued at this apparent slight on the part of his imperial entertainer; and gave hints, indirectly, to General Count Bekendorf, the chief

aide-de-camp of the emperor Nicholas, that it seemed to him as though he must, in some way or other, have incurred the displeasure of his imperial majesty; but that he was wholly at a loss to know in what manner he could have deserved the emperor's anger. General Bekendorf immediately answered, that the emperor of Russia, his master, who rules over fifty millions of men, and who was always anxious to discharge faithfully the duty imposed on him by Providence, was at times absent and pre-occupied in his mind, and might consequently appear careless about his guests; though nothing in reality might be further from his intention; that his obliging disposition towards all foreigners, without exception, who did not meddle with politics in Russia, was so well known and fully acknowledged that it needed no comment; that he was sure that the next day his imperial majesty would redeem his unintentional neglect, and would not fail to open to the noble marquis the large stock of his knowledge and the hidden treasures of his ever entertaining conversation: a mark of attention to which the marquis was fully entitled, not only by his birth, but by his amiability, numerous qualities, and unblemished character.

The next day Douro was again present at the imperial table. The emperor never once looked at him; entered into a long conversation with a person seated at the right of the marquis, but never addressed one single word to the latter; it was even

remarked, that whenever the emperor accidentally turned his head towards Douro, the imperial features momentarily assumed that icy coldness and stern forbiddingness of expression, peculiar to the morose character which is often attributed to him.

After the dinner, Douro again mentioned to General Bekendorf that he was now quite sure that the emperor was seriously angry with him ; but that of the existence of any probable cause of offence on his part, or of the reason for his having thus incurred the displeasure of his imperial majesty, he, the marquis, was as completely ignorant, as of the hour and manner of his own death.

Bekendorf, visibly embarrassed, answered, that, some time ago, it was reported to the emperor that the noble marquis had been present at a ball given for the relief of the Polish refugees in London. That the emperor was so much surprised at such a report, that he would not at first believe that the son of the Duke of Wellington could have attended at such a ball, and that it must have been a mistake ; but that the news of his being actually present was subsequently officially confirmed to his imperial majesty : he thought, therefore, that this circumstance might probably have displeased the emperor, and that this might perhaps be the real cause of the latter not having manifested to him those marks of kindness uniformly extended by the emperor to all foreigners of distinction. After this explanation, the Marquis of Douro, to the great regret of the

inhabitants of Kalisz, left Poland, and returned to England.

Setting aside the paramount respect of right due to his illustrious birth, let it be also remembered that the marquis was not a Russian but a British subject ; and, consequently, that he was not obliged to adopt the political views of the Russian autocrat, or to partake of his imperial antipathies.

Let it be remembered that the noble marquis was not at that time married to his splendid and virtuous spouse ; and as he is a nobleman who undoubtedly possesses a certain amiability of character, with pleasing manners, and had not the reputation to be insensible to the fair sex, he might have appeared at the Polish ball, not for any political motive hostile to Russia, but for seeing either a lady of his acquaintance, or some of his brother officers ; or he might have had a whim of contributing to the support of those Polish exiles who, having fought for their country, oppressed beyond all power of description, claimed British hospitality, and were without the slightest means of existence.

The emperor has never spoken to him since. It seems, however, that, on the last visit of the Emperor Nicholas to England, some sort of reconciliation must, indirectly, have taken place, as it is a well-known fact that, by the exertions of the Marquis of Douro, Count Mostowski, a Pole, received permission to return to his country, and was well received by the emperor, who at a levée shook hands with him, and bade him welcome

back to Poland, where he remains to this time unmolested.

As soon as it was known at Kalisz that the Marquis of Douro was there, some persons attempted to bribe the waiter to give them the opportunity of catching a sight of the son of the conqueror of Napoleon. I guarantee the veracity of all the particulars of the above anecdote, which was communicated to me by Lord Dudley Stuart, and by some persons well acquainted with the neighbourhood of Kalisz. I venture to mention it without the special authorisation of the marquis alluded to.

I shall probably resume the history I have already commenced, of the life of the Duke of Wellington, in the Polish and English languages. Being neither an Englishman nor a Frenchman, and consequently, in the position of an impartial observer, I shall treat the subject without bias towards either side; and although I may perhaps differ in some particulars from the historians of the latter nations, who have given biographies of the noble duke, I shall conscientiously endeavour to discharge the task without favour or prejudice.

I intend to dedicate the above work to the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Hardinge, who contributed so much to the glory of the British name in India.



## CHAPTER IX.

## PRINCESS TARAkanOF.

Her Birth—Rank and Claim to the Russian Throne as the lawful Daughter of the Empress Elizabeth and Grand-daughter of Peter the Great—Excites the jealousy of Catherine II.—Is advised to leave Russia without delay—Claims the Protection of Prince Charles Radzivill, the richest grandee in Poland—Is carried clandestinely by him to Poland, and treated with the regard due to her illustrious rank—Her Danger—Sets out for Italy with Prince Radzivill—Stops at Rome—Lives in apparent Seclusion, attended by Masters—Intrigues—Infamous Propositions to Radzivill for betraying the Princess rejected—Tricks of the Russian Agents on the latter in Italy—Devastation of Radzivill's Possessions in Poland by the Russian Generals—His pecuniary difficulties—Sets out for Poland—Leaves the Princess under the care of a Governess—Arrives in Poland—Is duped—Count Alexy Orloff's Stratagem in Italy—His artful Snare to entrap the Princess—Carlo Ribas—His acquaintance with the Princess—Introduces Orloff to her—Mock Marriage of Orloff with her—Orloff leaves Rome, goes to Pisa, and ultimately to Leghorn—Treachery of the Russian Fleet—The Princess falls a Victim—Her real Lover—Indignation of the Inhabitants—The Princess arrives in Irons at Petersburg—Is put into a Dungeon, and treated with harshness and dies—Remarks.

BEFORE we proceed to a description of one of the darkest and most abominable intrigues that stained the reign of Catherine II., it may be proper to give some information to the reader about the early days of

its unfortunate victim ; and we must revert to the time of the Empress Elizabeth.

Elizabeth Petrowna, empress of Russia, second daughter of Peter the Great, inherited from her father, neither his natural cruelty, his firmness, nor mental ability: she was more known by her personal attractions, by her love of good living, and fondness of pleasure, than by any brilliant quality suitable to her exalted position.

Left a widow in the meridian of life, on the throne of one of the largest empires in the world, Elizabeth was often the dupe of the first court intriguer whom chance brought to her palace ; and who flattering her passions, and possessing a firmer mind, availed himself of any favourable opportunities for promoting his private aggrandisement ; a result not always favourable to the welfare of the country.

Having a large field for the gratification of her caprices, and dreading no control, Elizabeth had many lovers, whom she changed according to her fancy, and to whom she refused nothing. She seems not to have been much inclined to share with any of them the yoke of matrimony. As she was, however, not exactly free from the clergy's influence, Count Alexy Gregorovitch Razumoskoy, master of the buck-hounds, and one of her most favoured lovers, whom she had raised to the first dignities of the empire, taking skilful advantage of an expression which fell accidentally from her majesty's lips, prevailed on her (through the advice

of her confessor, who was in his pay,) to marry him privately. She left three children by this marriage; namely, two sons and a daughter, the Princess Tarakanof.

No sooner had Catherine ascended the Russian throne, after the murder of her husband, Peter III., than being apprised of her existence, she became evidently jealous of her; whereupon the friends of the youthful princess, dreading some sinister design against her, advised her to leave Russia without delay. Conforming to their advice, the princess sought the protection of Prince Charles Radzivill, who, having gained over one of her female attendants, brought the princess to his estate in Lithuania, where she was treated with regard and kindness.

As, however, Poland at that time was full of Russian troops, and was already governed as a Russian province, Radzivill having accidentally discovered an intrigue dangerous to the safety of his illustrious *protégée*, took her suddenly with him to Rome, where, in comparative seclusion, she received instruction suitable to her birth and rank.

Perhaps the prospect of being able to put a stop to the domestic, foreign, and religious war excited by Catherine II. in Poland, induced Radzivill to protect a young lady who, under proper circumstances, and as the grand-daughter of Peter the Great, might become a formidable rival to Catherine's power. Her very name rendered her dear to the Russians; perhaps

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the loftier aim of mounting with her the Russian throne, secretly governed the conduct of the Polish grandee towards the fair object of his attention.

However it may have been, the czarina, having been well apprised, by her spies, of what was going on at Rome in Radzivill's house, ordered her generals in Poland to pillage, destroy, and burn, under some pretext or other, all the property of Radzivill; to arrest all his stewards, and not to allow them to send him any money abroad, under any circumstances. She even went so far as to make a liberal gratuitous offer, through her agents, to all the bankers at Rome, to induce them not to provide Prince Radzivill with any money.

Radzivill, thus suddenly deprived of his immense revenue, was obliged to live in Italy on the produce of his diamonds; and when these supplies, and the money borrowed by him from his friends were exhausted, he set out in order to gain some intelligence concerning his private affairs in Poland; leaving the young lady under the care of a governess, to whom he gave proper instructions to watch over her charge, and not to admit, during his absence, any stranger to the princess, without a previous knowledge of his character and principles. Scarcely had Prince Radzivill returned to Poland, when the Russian ambassador stated that, if he would deliver the Princess Tarakanof to the empress of Russia, not only all his possessions should be instantly restored to him, and all his losses liberally paid,

but that the prince would also thereby secure to himself for the future, her imperial majesty's favour, extended even to all his relatives and friends.

In the first burst of indignation, Radzivill intended to demand personal satisfaction from the Russian ambassador for his insulting proposition; but, acting on the advice of his friends, he answered, in writing, with great dignity, that whatever might happen, and however eager he might be to secure her imperial majesty's favour, he would never betray the trust placed in his honour, and would never deliver Princess Tarakanof into the hands of her enemies, as such an action would stain his noble name with eternal infamy, and would lower him in his own estimation. In this letter he threw all the blame on the over zeal of the Russian ambassador; and played so well on the *generosity, noble feelings, and magnanimity*, of the czarina, that the insulting proposition was never renewed to him; and though he was not recompensed for his losses, his possessions were all restored to him, and his stewards, previously arrested by the Russian generals, liberated. The Russian ambassador added also, that if he, the prince, gave him his promise, as a gentleman, not to have any personal intercourse with the princess alluded to, not to encourage any ambitious dreams in her mind, directly or indirectly, and not to correspond with her, he could assure him, as a gentleman, that she should be left unmolested abroad. Should, however, anything happen to the contrary, Radzivill would thereby work

her misfortune and ruin. Radzivill, who was naturally of a chivalrous disposition, thinking any man of high station incapable of breaking his word or of affirming a falsehood, and dreading, not without reason, the dark hints of the ambassador respecting the young lady's fate, sent her privately some money, which, however, never reached her; recommended her to some friends, and left her exposed, unprotected, and helpless, to the diabolical snares skilfully prepared for entrapping her, just at that very time when she required protection more than anything else.

The czarina, having been apprized that Radzivill had been duped, henceforth acted with more boldness. At that time Prince Gregory Orloff was her principal and acknowledged favourite; and it was said that his own brother, Count Alexy Orloff, who had gained some naval victories over the Turks, and who had come to Petersburg, to share with other Russian generals the honours and substantial rewards awaiting them at court, aspired also secretly to supplant his brother in her imperial majesty's heart. Catherine had a keen eye; she soon suspected his concealed aim, and listening to the warm protestations of gratitude of Alexy Orloff to her imperial person for the favours lavished on him, gave him hints that they would soon be put to the test; and that the sacrifice of his passion for a young and beautiful lady, dangerous to the well-being of the empress herself, might probably be required from him, as a condition for the future continuance of her imperial

majesty's kindness. In reality, however, the czarina wished to turn to her own advantage the growing attachment of Orloff to her person, to prolong his stay abroad, and to induce him to commit a crime, the disgrace of which (if committed) would fall heavier on him than on her. She was anxious, probably, also to be at liberty to gratify some new fancy, without the envious gaze of a too jealous and troublesome rival. Instructions were given to Orloff respecting Princess Tarakanof; he promised to fulfil them, and was true to his word; a part far more difficult than the promise itself.

Orloff soon left Petersburg, and after stopping some days at Vienna, repaired to Leghorn, where the Russian squadron was already expecting him. He was also commissioned to find an artist to paint some pictures, representing the burning of the Turkish fleet by the Russians. Orloff soon found a painter of the name of Halkert, to whom he made liberal propositions to this effect; but the artist told him he never saw the burning of a ship. Orloff immediately ordered one of his large ships to be blown up, for the purpose of satisfying completely the painter's curiosity, and to enable him to finish his pictures with greater precision, though at the hazard of the ships lying in the port.

As soon as Count Orloff had acquired from his agents all the necessary information about the young Russian lady, he sent to Rome Carlo Ribas, a convicted felon, a Neapolitan of foreign extraction, a young man of good address, whose dashing appearance, smoothness of

tongue, and insinuating manners, coupled with a peculiar fitness for intrigue, concealed a black and treacherous heart, and rendered him a worthy associate of his infamous projects. After discovering, as if by accident, the lodging of the young princess, Ribas (who had received every necessary instruction from Orloff,) introduced himself to her in a splendid uniform, under the name of an officer. He told her that he had ventured to call on her from the sole desire of paying due homage to a princess, whose fate and misfortunes, accomplishments and virtues, were highly interesting to all her countrymen. He seemed very much affected and distressed at the state of destitution in which he found a young lady of her rank. He afforded her some pecuniary assistance; beseeching her on his knees to accept it, as he would consider her so doing as a great honour paid to him; and as he was well assured that she would not forget him as soon as she should be restored to her country, and to the lofty station in society to which her rank and birth entitled her. As his manner and behaviour were extremely respectful, and at the same time subdued and distant, and as the tone of his voice was sorrowful and tender, she requested him to rise, accepted his money with a slight blush, evidently grateful and flattered at his conduct: and the wily traitor soon appeared to his artless and unsuspecting victim in the light of a messenger whom heaven had sent for her deliverance.

Henceforward, Ribas was occasionally admitted to



the society of the princess ; and when he thought he had sufficiently gained her confidence, he declared that he was commissioned from a far higher personage than himself, to apprise her of an intended visit connected with her private affairs. And when she became eager to know the name and particulars of the intended visitor, after tantalizing for some time her curiosity, he apparently yielded to her entreaties, and told her respectfully, in a whisper, that Count Alexy Orloff wished to offer to the daughter of Elizabeth, the throne that was lately filled by her mother. He said that the Russians were discontented with Catherine ; that Orloff especially could never forgive her ingratitude and tyranny ; and that if the young princess would accept the proposals and services of that general, and reward them with the grant of her hand, an outbreak would soon take place, which was already ripe for action and success.

Such extraordinary and brilliant proposals ought naturally to have opened the eyes of the Princess Tarakanof, and to have raised her suspicions ; but her amiable and confiding soul, her inexperience of the world, completely deceived her. Besides, the language of the emissary of Alexy Orloff was in harmony with some hints which she often heard about herself at Prince Radzivil's house. She imagined herself destined to the throne ; and all the airy and poetical dreams floating in her head on that subject, could not but encourage the deceit. With a thankful heart she unhappily promised

to receive the proposed visitor, and thus herself concurred in the work of her destruction.

Count Alexy Orloff shortly afterwards came to Rome, having been announced already by his agent; and hastened to pay his respects to the young Russian lady. He was received as a particular friend, as a benefactor. However, some persons to whom the princess and her governess communicated the good fortune that awaited them, advised them to be on their guard against the evident treachery of a man whose character for wickedness was well known; and who, without doubt, had too much reason to remain faithful to his present sovereign to think of conspiring against her.

Instead of paying due attention to such useful and timely advice, the princess was so imprudently frank as to repeat immediately, word for word, to Orloff all she had heard. The latter, as a skilful courtier, soon contrived to allay her apprehensions; and thenceforth threw a deeper shade of dissimulation, address, and hypocrisy into his honied speeches and behaviour. Not satisfied with flattering the ambition of the young Russian, he contrived, by the usual arts of dissimulation and of feigned attachment, to assume the semblance of a passion for her, and succeeded so far as to inspire her with a true one. As soon as he was sure of it, he conjured her in the most urgent terms to marry him without delay; she unhappily consented, and even with joy, thinking that the title of spouse to Count Alexy Orloff would shelter her powerfully from the imminent dangers and

treacherous machinations which she was taught to apprehend.

Feigning a desire that the marriage ceremony should be performed according to the rites of the Greek church, Orloff suborned some low villains to disguise themselves as lawyers and priests, and the mock marriage shortly afterwards took place. Thus profanation was combined with imposture, in the conspiracy plotted against the unprotected and too confident Tarakanof.

When Alexy Orloff had become the husband of the unhappy princess, he represented to her that their stay in Rome exposed her to too close observation ; and that it would be better for her to proceed to some other city of Italy, to wait for the breaking out of the plot that was to call her to the throne. Believing this advice to be dictated by love and prudence, she answered that " she had married him, not out of ambition, but for affection ; and that as became her duty towards him as an obedient and devoted wife, she would willingly follow him wherever he chose to conduct her, even to the end of the world." He brought her immediately to Pisa, where he had previously hired a magnificent palace. There he continued to treat her with unshaken marks of tenderness and respect ; but he permitted none to come near her, excepting persons completely devoted to him ; and when she went to the theatre, or to the public promenades, he himself always attended her.

The division of the Russian squadron, under the

orders of Admiral Grieg, had just entered the port of Leghorn. Having been apprised of this, Orloff told the princess that his presence was necessary at Leghorn, for the purpose of giving some orders; and he requested the latter to attend him there. To this she immediately consented, having previously heard of the magnificence of the Russian ships, and the beauty of the port of Leghorn. Imprudent creature, the nearer she approached the catastrophe of the plot, the more she trusted to her faithless betrayer.

The princess departed from Pisa with her customary suite of attendants, and was greeted by the whole population, her affability and obliging manners having rendered her a general favourite. On arriving at Leghorn, she landed at the house of the British consul, where suitable apartments had been already prepared for her, and where she was received with all the marks of the profoundest respect. The next day she was visited by all the ladies of rank, and was soon surrounded by a numerous court. Every one was preparing some new entertainment for her. Whenever she went out, the people lined the way as she passed along; and being pleased with her beauty, and having heard of her liberality and kindness, cheered her with repeated huzzas, with that southern enthusiasm so difficult to describe, and which is seldom known in the northern countries. They called her, *La bella e buona principessa*—"The good and beautiful princess." All circumstances conspired to lull her into a fatal security. All

tended to dispel the idea of any immediate danger at the very time when her days were already numbered.

The young Russian princess was so far from apprehending any danger threatening her, that after having passed several days in a round of amusements with which she was pleased and delighted, she made of her own accord the proposition to visit the Russian fleet. The idea was applauded, the necessary orders were immediately given, and the next afternoon everything was ready at the water-side, for her reception.

On her arrival at the port, the princess was handed into a boat with splendid awnings. Many ladies, with the British consul, seated themselves with her. A second boat conveyed Count Alexy Orloff and the admiral; and a third, filled with Russian and British officers and sailors, closed the procession. The boats put from shore in sight of an immense multitude of people, and were received by the fleet with bands of music, salutes of artillery, and repeated huzzas. As the princess came alongside the ship on board of which she was to go, and when silence was restored, she could not help admiring the beautiful scenery of Leghorn, and the distant tops of the Appenine range drawn in the streams of crimson light of an Italian setting sun. A splendid chair was let down from the yard, in which being seated,<sup>a</sup> she was readily hoisted upon deck; and it was observed to her that these were particular honours paid to her rank.

Orloff soon followed her, under the plea of helping

some ladies ; but no sooner was she on board with him than she was handcuffed. In vain she implored the pity of her cruel betrayer ; in vain she called him by the most tender names ; in vain she threw herself at his feet, and bathed them with her tears. No answer even was given to her lamentation, she was carried down into the hold, put in irons, and the vessel set sail for Russia. The confusion, the shrieks of the ladies, and of all those who were present, may be better imagined than described.

On arriving at St. Petersburg, the young victim was shut up in a fortress, placed in a dark dungeon, and treated with the greatest harshness and barbarity. What became of her afterwards was never precisely known, no one ever daring to inquire about her. It is said that Catherine once feasted her eyes with her torments. The author of the interesting *Memoires Secrètes sur l'Italie*, says, that the young victim was drowned on the 10th of September, 1777, when the waves, moved by a terrible gale, rose ten feet above their usual level. Others assert that the unfortunate princess fell in prison by the hands of the executioner. All agree that she died in the course of that year.

The inhabitants of Leghorn, who saw the princess embark, heard shortly after with inexpressible horror that, instead of the grand entertainment which the princess was to have on board the fleet, she was put in irons. The grand Duke of Tuscany, whose territory was thus so shamefully violated, wrote immediately to Vienna and Petersburg, to complain of the outrage ; but

protestations without coercive measures are of little avail. All the British officers in the naval Russian service, indignant at the infamy perpetrated in their presence on the Princess Tarakanof, returned to England.

Such was the fate of the grand-daughter of Peter the Great, born in wedlock : whose only crime was, that she raised the jealousy of Catherine II., and might have laid claim to the Russian throne.

Nothing can possibly exculpate Catherine from her participation in this barbarous deed, however some of her admirers may partially justify her conduct in the matter : as for Alexy Orloff (in whose heart the rattlesnake, the foam of a mad cat, and the bile of seven jealous furies must have taken shelter), considering that Princess Tarakanof was an orphan, young, beautiful, unprotected, innocent; that she never in any way offended him; that she loved him; that she lived with him for some months as his lawful wife; that she belonged to a family which ought to be dear to every Russian; considering that she put perfect trust in him; we must consider his action as an instance of the most abominable and blackest perfidy that ever stained the conscience and honour of any human being.

See *Histoire de Pierre III., et les Amours secrètes de Catherine II.*; *Life of Catherine II.* p. 61; *Life of Catherine II.*, by Costera; *Memoirs of the reign of Catherine II.*; and *Memoires secrètes d'Italie.*

## CHAPTER X.

## CATHERINE II. AND HER FAVOURITES.

Catherine's Birth, Education, and Talents—Her early Gallantries and Dissimulation—Arrival at the Court of the Empress Elizabeth of Russia—Marriage with the Grand Duke Peter, afterwards Czar of Russia, under the name of Peter III.—She concocts a Plot with her Lovers to hurl him from the Throne, and conducts it with great skill and boldness—Is successful—Orders the Murder of her Husband, and becomes after his Death the absolute Sovereign of Russia—Her numerous Lovers—Prince Potemkin—The manner of Choosing and Dismissing the Favourites—Lonskoi—Momonof and his Lady—Catherine's Cruelty and Excesses—Her Death.

As the reign of Catherine II. empress of Russia, her crafty intrigues, the caprice of her numerous favourites, and the enormities of her generals, greatly influenced the ultimate fate of unhappy Poland, it may not be improper to give a sketch of her early days; to furnish the reader with the names of her principal lovers (the others are too insignificant and numerous to be mentioned), and to narrate some of the dark villainies related by her most authentic biographers.

Sophia Augusta Frederica, who, under the name of Catherine II., became the absolute empress of Russia after the murder of Peter III. in 1762, was the lawful daughter of Prince Augustus Anhalt-Zerbst-Dornburg



and the princess of Holstein; and was born May 2, 1729, at Stettin, in Prussian Pomerania.

Catherine's mother was a remarkably clever woman, and gave her an excellent education. From her early days the youthful Princess Sophia was not less remarkable for her beauty, her eloquence, and her firm and sagacious mind, than for her ambition, her licentiousness, and the extraordinary art with which she concealed her most secret thoughts. Even at the early age of fourteen she conducted her love affairs with no ordinary dissimulation. Brought to the court of the Empress Elizabeth, and married to the Grand Duke Peter, she attracted general admiration. Feigning an ardent passion for her husband, who became, after the death of his aunt Elizabeth, czar of Russia, under the title of Peter III., she planned with her lover an intrigue for hurling him from the throne, and taking into her own hands the sceptre of the Russian empire. In this difficult undertaking, which she conducted with extraordinary skill, boldness, and dissimulation, under the most trying circumstances, she ultimately succeeded.

Without attempting to describe her life, which has been so well written by many distinguished authors, we proceed to the description of the czarina's favourites.

It is a general remark, that when kings reign, women rule; and when women reign, men govern. Though some women may have possessed great strength of mind and talents; yet, on the whole, they never

equal in any science or undertaking eminent men; but they always govern them by the power of their charms. From a remote period of Russian history, and especially in the last century, the monarchs of Russia have always had favourites officially; it is no wonder that a custom, so ancient and scrupulously observed by four empresses, namely, Catherine I., Anne, Elizabeth, and Catherine II., should be almost considered as the fundamental law of the empire, and as a concomitant of the imperial grandeur.

As the reign of Catherine II. was longer than that of any of her predecessors, and as her passions were warmer, it was natural that the number of her favourites should be greater. Sovereigns are but mortal after all, and are governed by the same feelings as the rest of mankind; consequently, they are often slaves to the same caprices and weaknesses, and having a larger field wherein to gratify their fancies and propensities, and being obliged often for state reasons to sacrifice their affection to the paltry considerations of court policy, they have more claim to our indulgence than those whose sphere of life shelters them from similar sacrifices. Infamy and crime, however, must not be committed, nor the laws of public decency violated with impunity.

It may not be uninteresting to give some idea of the ceremonies connected with the installation of Catherine's favourites. When her imperial majesty had fixed her choice on a new favourite, she created him

her general aide-de-camp, in order that he might attend her everywhere, without creating scandal or attracting malicious observation. Thenceforward, the favourite occupied in the palace an apartment below that of the empress, to which it communicated by a private staircase. The first day of his installation, he received a present of £15,000, and every month he found £2500 on his dressing-table; the chief steward of the court being commissioned to provide him with a daily table of twenty-five covers. The favourite attended the empress to all places of amusement; was her constant companion at the opera, at balls, promenades, excursions of pleasure, and was not allowed to leave the palace without express permission. He was given to understand, that it would not be taken well if he conversed familiarly with other women; and if he went to dine with any of his friends, the mistress of the house was not to be present.

Whenever the empress took a fancy to any one of her subjects, with the design of raising him to the post of favourite, she caused him to be invited to dinner by some lady of her confidence, on whom she dropped in as if by chance. Then she would enter into familiar conversation with the new comer, with a view to discover whether or not he was worthy of the favour she intended to bestow on him. When the judgment she formed was favourable, the confidant, who was informed of it by a significant look from the empress, did not fail, on the departure of her imperial

visitor, to notify to the favourite the extent of his happiness. The day following, he received a visit from one of the principal physicians of the court, who came to inquire into the state of his health without ceremony; and the same evening he met the empress at the hermitage, and took possession of the apartment that had been prepared for him.

When the power of a favourite was on the wane, a hint of dismissal was given to him by ordering him to travel; and from that time he was debarred all access to her majesty. All his debts, however, were paid, his near relatives provided for, and he received a boon of an hereditary estate in recompense for his services.

The first of Catherine's acknowledged lovers, after she came to Russia, was Count Soltykof—second, Stanislaus Poniatowski (the late king of Poland)—third, Prince Gregory Orloff—fourth, Vissensky—fifth, Vassiltchikof—sixth, Prince Potemkin—seventh, Zavadosky—eighth, Zoritch—ninth, Rymski-Korsakof—tenth, Lontskoi—eleventh, Yermolof—twelfth, Momonof—thirteenth, Prince Platto Zubof—fourteenth, Valerian Zubof.

It is to be remarked, that among all the above mentioned lovers (though to Prince Gregory Orloff she was chiefly indebted for her throne), the ablest man was undoubtedly Potemkin, who governed the Empress Catherine, her lovers and the whole Russian empire, to the end of his days. He was of Polish origin.

Lonskoi (Lonski) was the only one for whom she entertained, when already past the meridian of life, the most tender and devoted attachment; which, it is said, was partly returned: he died in her arms, and left her his fortune, which she gave to his relatives. After his death, she was so completely absorbed in grief, that she wished to die of inanition, and for three months did not quit her apartment. During this time, she refused to see any one, excepting her servants; and erected him a superb mausoleum in the garden opposite the windows of her bed-room; bathing it for several years with her tears, and actually stating with sobs that she was unworthy of having such a lover. She often visited his grave at midnight. He was a native of the Polish province torn by Russia from Poland by the first partition; his original name was Lonski, which was changed by Catherine into Lontskoi.

After the death of Lontskoi, and shortly before her own death, Catherine seems to have much liked Momonof; but he fell in love with one of her maids of honour, Princess Schteherbatof, and had private interviews with her. This was soon reported to the empress; and she once, unperceived, caught him actually kneeling before her. The next day she suggested to Momonof a marriage with the rich Countess Bruce, as if to know what effect such a proposal would make on him. Momonof, after some hesitation, threw himself at the empress's feet, and openly avowed his attach-

ment for the princess. The next day they were married, and set out for Moscow, with orders not to visit St. Petersburg. Catherine, however, never forgave Princess Schteherbatof for having deprived her of Momonof's society, and planned secretly a merciless vengeance. Momonof had the imprudence to relate some curious particulars of his love affair with the Empress Catherine; and his lady, who hated Catherine, divulged them immediately with a levity injurious to the sovereign, and amplifying, it is said, many things. Momonof and his lady had one night gone to rest, when the master of the police of Moscow entered their apartment with six men in women's attire, and a written order of the empress. They seized the babbling lady, and having stripped her entirely of her night-clothes, flogged her terribly with rods, in the presence of her husband, whom they compelled to kneel during the ceremony. Such a barbarous violation of domestic privacy could only happen in Russia, and gives some idea of the manner in which that country is governed.

The choice of her imperial majesty was not always bestowed on educated men. Once a simple trumpeter attracted her attention, and speedily became a general. In the latter part of her life, the empress threw aside all restraint, and shortened her life by the most disgusting excesses. She died November 6, 1796.

It is stated that Catherine lavished nearly fifty millions of pounds sterling on her love affairs, and demoralized for centuries the whole Russian nobility.

Some Russians, however, refused the place of favourite, in spite of all the substantial advantages derivable from it. Among them was Prince S. Dolgoruki.

Such was the woman on whom sordid writers have lavished their flatteries ; but if there have been women on the throne, who have disgraced it by their vices, there have been, as there are still, others, who are examples of domestic virtue, and who have been ornaments to their station.

See *Life of Catherine II.*, 3 vols. ; *Authentic Memoirs of Catherine II.* ; *Life of Catherine II.*, by Costera ; *Pierre III. et les Amours de Catherine* ; *Dzieta Niemeevioza*, &c.

## CHAPTER XI.

## REBELLION OF PUGATCHEF.

**Pugatchef—His Birth and Initiation in Warfare and Robbery—Biographies of him difficult to be procured—His Flight into Poland—Adopts the religious Creed of Roskolniki (Starowiertzy Puritans)—Joins the Cossacks of the Iaïk—His Expedition in Kuban—Is arrested at Malefolka, but escapes—Rebellion among the Cossacks of the Iaïk on account of the Infringement of their Privileges—Pugatchef joins them—Uncertain when he assumed the title of Peter III.—His Invasion of the newly-established Colonies at the Banks of the Irghis—Besieges the Town of Iaïtzkaï, and is repulsed—Attracts to his Party the Cossacks of the Iletz—Takes Basyrnaya, Ossernaya, and Tateschtcheva—Cuts to pieces the Russian Corps under Colonel Bulof—Vanquishes General Tchernishef, and slays all who refuse to join him—Besieges the Town of Orenburg—His Successes and Extent of his Domination—His Hypocrisy—Inscription and Motto on his Standards—His unexpected Successes—His Court and Ministers—His Intention of exterminating the Russian Nobility—His Proclamations and Manifesto—Price offered for his Head—Partial Successes of Bibikof—Unsuccessful Siege of Orenburg—Battle with the main Army of General Bibikof—His Retreat into the Uralian Mountains and Re-appearance with an Army—Burning of Kazan, and Rejection in the Mountains by Michelson—Re-appearance with Proclamations and Manifestos—Capture of the Towns of Pensa, Saratof, and Dymitrefsk—His Surprise of Duboskaïa—Ultimately vanquished and routed near Tchernojar—His Flight to the Deserts on the Banks of the Ouzem—Is Betrayed and delivered to the Russians—His Punishment and Execution at Moscow—Consequences of his Rebellion—Comparison with Stenko Razin—Remarks.**

**AFTER** the murder of Peter III. by Catherine's favourite, at the imperial seat Ropscha, in 1762, though the body of that ill-fated monarch was publicly ex-



posed in the convent of Alexander Newski, a rumour was prevalent that the czar had escaped the snares of the assassins, and was living concealed in a distant province of the Russian empire, till more favourable circumstances should allow him to regain his throne and punish the traitors.

Several different impostors successively attempted to avail themselves of this popular delusion, and, by personating the ill-fated emperor, to make good their claims to the Russian throne; but four of them were suppressed with more or less difficulty, and they expiated, by a cruel death on the scaffold, the crime of their mischievous imposture.

Of these audacious pretenders, who were all more or less favoured indirectly by the Russian priests, the first was a shoemaker of Voronetz; the second, a private deserter from the regiment of Orlof; the third, Stefano Piccolo, an Illyrian, an Austrian deserter of good address, who practised surgery in Turkey; the fourth, a serf of the illustrious family of Vorontzof; and the fifth, a malefactor escaped from the prison of Irkutsk. One only of them, the third in rotation, Stefano Piccolo, more fortunate than the others, amassed some wealth and escaped, probably because he attempted his imposture, not in Russia, but in the country of the Montenegrinos, under the Turkish domination.

In spite, however, of all these repeated failures, and of the terrible example of retributive justice thus afforded, the elements of rebellion still existed; the

discarded clergy, the Cossacks, and some disappointed Russian grandees, were busily engaged in preparing secretly a more serious and more formidable outbreak, and a terrible and unexpected storm was gathering.

The man whose name made the whole of Russia tremble to her very foundation—the man whose courage, enterprise, ability, perseverance, as well as ferocity, hypocrisy, and disgusting excesses, are about to be narrated—deserves particular notice, though the extent of this work does not afford space to explain many interesting facts.

Ikhmelian Pugatchef, son of a private Cossack, Izmaïlof, was born in 1726, at Simoveïsk, on the banks of the Don, in the commune of the Kossack Stanitzza Zinvilskaiia, served under the command of Field-marshal Apraxyn, in the seven years' war, and made the campaign of 1769 against the Turks. After the siege of Bender, where he distinguished himself by his gallantry, he resolved, for some reasons never yet clearly explained, to leave the military service; but, not having received on that subject a satisfactory answer, he deserted, went to Poland, and was hospitably received and taken care of by some clergy of the Greco-Russian church in Podolia.

Concealed and sheltered in this retired spot, he adopted the religion of Roskolniki—the Russian puritan faith; an ancient community of the Greek Church, established by some fanatics in the twelfth century, who were to be the strict observants of the New Testament;

a community persecuted by Peter the Great and his ancestors, and scorned by the majority of the Russian people, not for trifling differences in the ceremonies of their rites, but for a singular custom, to this time, it is said, prevalent among them, which decency forbids me to mention. The rigorous persecutions of these fanatics, known by their great chastity and abstemious habits, produced in Russia the same effect as everywhere else in similar circumstances: it greatly increased, instead of diminishing their number, especially in the remote parts of the Russian empire.

Pugatchef did not fail to turn these persecutions to his own account. Being obliged to leave his hospitable friends, he went to Dobrynka, where he lived on alms: thence he wandered some time in Lesser Russia, provided for and well taken care of by the numerous votaries of his adopted creed; but having received timely warning of the danger to which he was exposed in dwelling among them, he proceeded through the country of the Don, towards the land of the Cossacks of the Iaïk, where religious persecution, combined with the growing impatience of the Russian yoke, were preparing a formidable rebellion.

As soon as Pugatchef had assembled some of his partisans, he hinted that he was about to undertake a lucrative expedition; and went towards the river Kuban and the passes of the Caucasian mountains, where the commerce carried on between the Turks, the Persians, and the Russians, afforded him excellent opportunities

of satisfying the rapacious habits and cupidity of his followers. It is certainly not easy to imagine the existence of such a band of organised robbers in western Europe; but nothing is more common than similar bands in eastern Russia, which have always existed somewhere, and are found even at the present time. During his successful and murderous excursions, Pugatchef frequently complained of the cruelty and oppression of the Russian government, and never failed to impress the belief on the mind of his people that the time was not far distant when they would see better days. Similar expressions and promises, always artfully introduced at proper times and under favourable circumstances, and seasoned, moreover, with the powerful stimulant of affected secrecy, augmented daily the number of his adherents, and attracted, at the same time, the attention of the Russian authorities. Pugatchef was suddenly arrested at the small town of Malefolka, and sent in irons to Kazan to undergo his trial. This unlucky accident would have cut short all his mighty projects, had he not so skilfully assumed the character of a half idiot, as to baffle the vigilance of the governor, whose consequent delay in inflicting the punishment awarded to Pugatchef, enabled the latter, by means of certain money furnished him by the clergymen of his community, to bribe his guards and to effect his escape.

Thus liberated, almost by a miracle, from his dungeon, he lost no time in descending the Volga and the river

Irghis which flows in the desert; and reappearing on the banks of the Iaik under more favourable circumstances, adopted fresh expedients for the furtherance of his projects. The Cossacks, who bear the name of that river, are the scattered remains of the ancient inhabitants of Kaptshak; a curious mixture of Russians, Tatars, Kalmucks, and Kerghis. On the whole, they were more barbarous than their western brethren; rather pagan than Christian, ignorant, superstitious, leading a wandering life, hating the culture of the soil, and subsisting chiefly on rapine, the produce of their fisheries, and the breeding of cattle, as well as extracting salt from their extensive marshes. The Russian government robbed them, inch by inch, not only of the vast tracts of fertile soil which they never touched, but also of the abundant pastures which fed their herds in these cold and dreary solitudes. Deprived of the scanty allowance which was due to them on the sacred faith of voluntary treaties with Russia; deprived unjustly of all the comforts of existence; obliged to sell almost for nothing their celebrated herds of beast, and denied redress from Petersburg, where their deputies were treated as rebels, they dispersed, partly in wilder tracts towards the Uralian mountains, and partly in other directions. Passionately attached to the creed of the Russian puritans (Roskolniki), to their barbarous customs, to their laws, bearing a strange resemblance to the customs of the Zaporogues, they obstinately rejected all the changes and reforms intended for their civilisa-

tion; they were more attached to the conservation of their beards than of their lives. The Russians, agreeably to the order transmitted to them by the czarina, endeavoured to transform them from regiments of Cossacks, into regiments of regular cavalry; but they absolutely refused to allow their beards to be cut, and raised a rebellion. Major-General Trauenberg was sent against them with some regulars; but he was beaten and massacred, together with their own attaman, who was suspected of being favourable to the Russians. The approach of winter, so terrible in these climates, prevented a speedy quelling of their insurrection; but in the following spring the Russian general Freyman, with a large body of troops, traversed their territory, routed them, and took Iaitzkay by storm. After putting to the sword their principal leaders and committing great cruelties, he quelled their rebellion, and left the town to the care of a Russian colonel, who had under his command a large body of regulars.

In spite of all this, many of the unfortunate Cossacks, and even some of their leaders, escaped into the wilds which surround the lakes of *Kamish Samarskie*, where they lived on fish and some animals which frequent, occasionally, its bleak and inhospitable shores; as well as on the scanty provisions which their families sent them secretly, with great difficulty and danger, till they found a skilful chief who terribly avenged the cruelties mercilessly inflicted on them.

It is very difficult to fix on the correct time when

Pugatchef assumed the name of Peter III.: before, however, he determined on the adoption of that dangerous character, he did not fail, during his stay in Podolia and elsewhere, to collect all the information possible relative to Stenko Razin, the celebrated rebel, and likewise respecting the peculiarities of character that had distinguished the ill-fated Peter. His friends hinted also to some of the Cossacks, that he was sent secretly by a few discontented Russian nobles in quest of the lost emperor ; others, that he wished to ascertain in what manner they would consider the idea of his assuming the character of the deceased czar. It is, however, a well-known fact, that when Pugatchef was sent to his general with a despatch, during the siege of Bender in 1769, all the officers of his staff were surprised at his extraordinary resemblance to the late emperor Peter III., in consequence of which, he was invited to dine at the table of General Totleben, where this resemblance was fully and unanimously confirmed : it is also to be remarked that when Pugatchef, after deserting his ranks, was in Podolia, two clergymen knelt before him and acknowledged him as the Russian czar. In vain some authors deny this resemblance : the great majority of them, as well as some disinterested testimonials, and even the portraits of Peter III. and Pugatchef, to be found in the British Museum, and which we have carefully examined, fully confirm it. All these things combined together made a deep impression on the mind of

Pugatchef, and he resolved to try his fortune in that capacity. His resemblance, even, to the late czar was not absolutely necessary for seducing the credulous, ignorant, and persecuted people living at a great distance from the capital.

After his arrival, in the month of April 1773, in the town of Iaïtzkoy, Pugatchef attended a secret meeting of discontented Cossacks; and being well aware of their excitement and thirst of revenge, he industriously circulated a rumour that the late czar, supposed to be murdered, would not fail shortly to make his appearance amongst them; and soon after, having been apprised of the secret abode of their chiefs who had escaped from the late destruction of the town by General Freyman, he went boldly to them, asserting that he was the Czar Peter III. himself; that he had escaped from the daggers of his paid assassins; and that the news of his death was invented by his enemies; he therefore claimed their protection.

These savage and oppressed Cossacks had never seen Peter III. The crafty impostor flattered their vices; adopted their creed; and promised to avenge their wrongs. They recognised him unanimously as their lawful sovereign; swore blind obedience to him, and promised to sacrifice their lives in his cause: and numerous bands of their brethren enrolled themselves under his orders. Placing himself at their head, Pugatchef immediately attacked the newly-established colonies on the banks of the Irghis, composed chiefly



of the Polish political exiles, as well as of men artfully entrapped into those cold and dreary regions. They yielded to the first call, and some of them swelled the rebel ranks. He took their arms, horses, and provisions ; did them no harm ; and mastered his natural cruelty for a time.

After this easy success, Pugatchef directed his steps towards Iaïtzkoy. It seems to have been imprudent to attack, with savage and untrained bands, experienced and victorious soldiers, commanded by skilful officers, well aware of their advantages, and especially interested in the defence of that place. Some deficiency in the fortifications however induced Pugatchef to turn his eyes towards it. Arrived under its walls, he summoned, officially, the governor to surrender the town to Peter III., czar of Russia ; and, after having received a peremptory refusal to comply with his demand, he issued immediate orders to take the place by storm. Repulsed everywhere, he converted the siege into a blockade, hoping to render himself master of the town by famine : but he was again disappointed by the extraordinary perseverance of the garrison. The inhabitants, reduced to the last extremity, after consuming the most disgusting animals, were at last relieved by the arrival of some Russian troops ; which obliged Pugatchef to retreat.

Checked, but not dispirited, by this slight reverse, he marched against the Cossacks of the Hetz, the greater part of whom joined his standard. Soon after,

he made himself master of two forts, Basyrnaya and Ossernaya, as well as of the important town of Tateschtcheva; the wooden walls of which he destroyed by fire. The governor of Ossernaya, Major Charlof, was newly married to a young and beautiful woman, strongly attached to her husband. Her beauty made an impression on the daring Cossack, who, excited by her refusal to satisfy voluntarily his passion, ordered her husband to be hanged, the officers to be butchered; and then, after ravishing the lady, delivered her over to the brutality of his soldiers.

As soon as the governor of Orenburg was apprised of the success of the rebellion, he despatched in great haste, a large body of troops, under Colonel Bulof, to fight the rebels. Bulof was expecting to be reinforced by the corps of General Tchernishef, sent from Simbirsk, but their movements were badly managed. Pugatchef, possessing by nature military capacities improved by experience in warfare, prevented their junction, and marching against Bulof, cut him in pieces. He then, without losing an instant, attacked Tchernishef who, surrounded and entrapped by false rumour into a difficult position, surrendered and perished. Pugatchef in these two victorious battles ordered all who refused to join his ranks to be put to the sword. Being well aware that the most important part of a good general is not only to gain a victory, but to take the proper advantage of it, he directed his steps toward Orenburg.

That town, situated on the banks of the Iaïk, on the verge of a bleak desert, and noted for some fine buildings and extensive commerce with the most remote parts of Asia ; at a great distance from the centre of the Russian empire ; fortified also by art and nature, was an excellent place of defence, and well suited his purposes. He expected also to find money there and some partisans. He would have taken it by storm, stratagem, or bribery, had not the garrison of Krasnoïark cut its way through the rebel army. Soon afterwards the Baskirs and the Kirghis, the remainder of those ferocious and barbarous hordes which followed the star of Bathu-Khan, and who were nominally subject to Russia, weary of the Russian yoke, and longing for pillage and rapine, joined the impostor's ranks. The Nogay Tatars, inhabiting formerly the deserts of Boodziak, not far from the ancient country of the Zaporogues, and whom Russia transplanted to the banks of the Volga, lost no time in following the army of one who offered them the opportunity of returning to their fatherland, and of taking signal revenge on the Russians. This example was quickly followed by the inhabitants of all the principal colonies in those inhospitable regions, and especially by the exiles condemned to work in the mines in the bowels of the Uralian mountains. Many Poles, who fought in the ranks of the Confederates of Bar, and who had been taken prisoners by the Russians, sent to these wilds, deprived of their country, and torn from their homes and families, by the violence

and injustice of the Empress Catherine, animated by the thirst of revenge against Russia, flocked from all parts of Siberia, to serve in the ranks of the rebels.

Hitherto nothing seemed to have checked the gigantic projects of Pugatchef. His sway extended from the Uralian mountains to the banks of the Volga, about three thousand three hundred miles. The Russians, shut up in some of the towns, expected to be crushed and annihilated at any time, by the ever-increasing forces of the daring impostor. The troops sent from the interior of Russia, could scarcely defend the most important military points between Kazan and Orenburg. The siege of Orenburg was followed up with great spirit and constancy by undisciplined bands, unacquainted with the formidable means of prosecuting war adopted by regular armies, in spite of the gallant resistance of the Russian general, Reinsdorf, who vainly attempted to repulse the attack made by Pugatchef on the latter town. General Carr received orders to take the command of the Russian army, and to quell the rebellion of Pugatchef. He travelled by post from Moscow; arrived in the neighbourhood of Orenburgh; and sent a detachment of regulars against Pugatchef, who was besieging that town; he was, however, not successful. One part of Pugatchef's army attacked and so completely routed the detachment, that scarcely five men escaped.

The general himself then advanced with a larger force; but, contrary to the advice which he received

from some of his friends, to be extremely cautious in all his movements, he rashly attacked Pugatchef, fell into the snare laid for him, lost his forces, and, completely beaten, seeing no chance of success with that celebrated rebel, he returned by post to Moscow, with as much haste as he came from that city. In the meantime, whilst one part of the rebels were engaged near that town in the dead of winter, Pugatchef, always restless and enterprising, went to the mountains to take from the mines all the silver and gold he could lay hands upon, and likewise the store of brass, far more necessary to him for casting cannon for the purpose of battering the walls of Orenburg. During this daring excursion, at the head of numerous bands, Pugatchef returned with rich spoil, but failed to take the fortress of Uffa : \* soon after, a false rumour, purposely spread, of the march of a large Russian army, made him more cautious in his movements ; and gave time to some scattered regiments on the Siberian frontier, to prevent his taking Ecatherinendstat, where he would have found considerable sums of money. During Pugatchef's absence in the Ural, the Polish exiles who had joined his standard, and whom he left behind near Orenburg, were specially entrusted by him with the organisation and drilling of his untrained troops : a task in which they succeeded to his entire satisfaction. At a latter period, Pugatchef promised them a safe return to their country, gave them the command of his chosen cavalry,

made Major Suchodolski (previously sent to Siberia by Catherine's order,) the chief of his staff, and ordered him to take particular care of his artillery.

For a long time Pugatchef following strictly the rites of his adopted creed (Roskolniki Starowiertzy), assumed their abstinence and piety. Often he was seen in sacerdotal robes to bless, with humility, the ferocious fanatics continually flocking to his presence. On his standards were written, in large letters of gold, the latin words, *Redivivus et ultor* (Re-arisen and avenged), a motto which, often repeated and explained, daily increased the number of his partisans. In order to stimulate as far as possible the zeal of his people, Pugatchef, being well aware that one of their priests, Fuma, had been condemned to lose his right hand by fire and to be burned alive, in 1715, at Moscow, by the orders of Peter the Great, for having hewn to pieces, with an axe, the images of the Saints and of the Virgin, in the Russian church; and having been also apprised that that religious fanatic, when summoned before the Russian authorities and clergy for the recantation of his faith, was true to his creed, and possessed extraordinary firmness; calmly preaching against the abuses of the Russian heresy, while his right hand was burned to ashes; (for which he was worshipped by the Roskolniki, his image exhibited without a hand, and himself considered as a saint); the crafty Pugatchef not only procured the likeness of the martyr without a hand as his standard, to which he showed publicly a religious veneration, but he

also found an impostor without a hand of the name of Fuma. This fanatic, possessing great flow of language, assumed the character of a descendant of the celebrated martyr ; preached daily against the abuses of the Russian church and against Catherine's tyranny ; and with such effect, that crowds of people were always saluting him with repeated huzzas, crying, "Long live Fuma !" "Long live our beloved emperor ; our great czar ; our benefactor, the defender of our church ;" with a sort of phrenzy. Speaking of his resurrection and vengeance, the pretended Peter III., openly declared that, having himself no longing for power, he had decided to place the Muscovite crown on the brow of the grand duke his son ; and, after accomplishing that laudable action, to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. This pretended disinterestedness, this resignation and piety, this deep and well sustained hypocrisy, admirably served his purposes. In the meantime, active, enterprising, indefatigable ; always ready to take every possible advantage of the weakness of the Russians, and of the incapacity of their generals ; combining with superiority of information, a perfect knowledge of the country and of his numerical strength, Pugatchef soon inspired his army with that blind confidence in his genius, which Mahomet, in bygone ages, infused into the hearts of his warlike and conquering followers.

Surprised and dazzled at his unexpected success, looking with pride at the numerous tribes and immense

barbarian army devoted to him, Pugatchef believed himself really the mighty sovereign whose name he usurped; forgot his engagements, ceased to be a hypocrite, adopted the imperial insignia, established a court, named his ministers, instituted orders of knighthood, and distributed honours and dignities among his friends. In the delusion of his presumption and victories, he would never admit any undertaking, however unreasonable, to be impracticable, nor the existence of any obstacle, which the energy of his will might not overcome; but he failed, by miscalculation, to pick up scattered diamonds at his feet, which, according to Shakspeare, are at some one period of every man's life within his reach. He lost undoubtedly some precious moments for action, which if promptly seized would have saved him, and changed the destiny of the Russian empire: he neglected, too, soon the means which served him so well; cast off the mask, and showed himself such as he was in reality. Vexed and excited by the desperate resistance of Orenburg, instead of mastering his passions, he abandoned himself wantonly to all sorts of disgusting excesses and atrocious cruelty. There was an excellent opportunity for the accomplishment of his projects at that time. In consequence of the war with Turkey, the celebrated field-marshal, Romantzof, could not weaken his army on the Danube; and Moscow was without troops, and full of serfs hating their masters. They were all prepared to join heart and hand with Pugatchef, who certainly had at his disposal more means



than any other impostor in bygone ages, for founding a new Russian dynasty. By an unpardonable blunder, or an unwise policy, he openly avowed the dangerous intention of exterminating the Russian nobility; and to convince his friends that his words were in harmony with his actions, he peremptorily ordered to be put to death, with their wives and children, all the nobles who fought against him. Being also well aware that Peter III. spoke, with great fluency, the German language; and dreading that it should be known that he did not understand a word of it, he summoned before him all the German officers who were taken prisoners by his army, and, at a preconcerted sign which he had made to his guard, they were all put to the sword without mercy.

Pugatchef committed also a great imprudence, which, by giving rise to scandal in his army, was still more dangerous than the loss of a battle, in espousing publicly a common woman from Iaïtskoy, though he was actually married to Sophia, the daughter of a Cossack, and had three lawful children. In the midst of the pomp and rejoicings on that occasion, during which he lavished his favours and squandered immense sums, he was apprised that a regular army, of 45,000 Russian veterans, well provided, was actually marching against him, under the command of General Prince Bibikof, and with a formidable artillery. There was also no longer any doubt that the Empress Catherine had published a manifesto against him in the principal towns of the empire. For

a long time, this formidable rebellion was considered, at Petersburg, as a mere rising of a band of robbers, so common among the wandering tribes of disaffected Cossacks and Tatars in those regions; and Pugatchef as their audacious chief. Catherine's policy was interested in considering his efforts as unworthy for an instant of any serious alarm respecting the stability of her throne, just at the time when all the great military talents of Romantzof could scarcely prosecute the bloody war against the Turks, who fought with undisputed bravery, and displayed in it more than ordinary spirit. Some enemies also of the ancient and powerful family of Orloff, ventured more than once to hint that Gregory Orloff secretly fostered the rebellion, and had actually sheltered Pugatchef in his house. There was also a rumour that Baron de Tott, a skilful French officer in the Turkish service, and who, on more than one occasion, had beaten the Russians, and had displayed his sound policy in protecting, at the Sultan's court, the views of the Polish confederates of Bar, (whose sole aim was to fight their common enemy), had some communication with Pugatchef, and directed his military movements. Catherine, who seems to have scorned these rumours, laughed at them openly; and gave to Pugatchef the title of marquis, in derision. Soon, however, her sagacious mind did not fail to perceive the whole extent of the danger to which she was undoubtedly exposed; and for a long time she directed her whole energy and activity to the

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means of avoiding it. Her masculine mind forgot the weakness of the female body, and was completely absorbed in this pressing and important business. Not satisfied with sending a powerful army, under General Bibikof, to crush the rebels, she in her manifesto, hinted, indirectly, at the well-known death of her murdered husband, and at the daring imposition of Pugatchef in assuming the name of Peter III. She also put in circulation some ukases or ordinances to her subjects. By one of them she warned her people not to obey any order which was not signed with her own hand, or that did not emanate from her private chancery at Petersburg; by another, she invited all the deluded Cossacks of the Don and the Iaik, who were in the rebel army, to return speedily to their homes; accompanying this advice with a liberal promise of forgetfulness of the past: by a third, far more dangerous for the personal safety of Pugatchef, and in full accordance with the rapacious propensities of the Cossacks, she promised a reward of one hundred thousand silver rubles to any one who should deliver him, dead or alive, to the Russian authorities; with a free pardon if the individual, so delivering him up, was in the rebel army. Pugatchef, however, who could neither read nor write, having some men of ability at his court, was not idle on his part; and replied by other proclamations and manifestos, which he always issued in the name of the sovereign, whose name he unblushingly usurped; he ordered also small busts of himself to be cast; and

issued gold, silver, and copper coins, stamped with his image, with the inscription, *Peter III., Emperor of all the Russians*. Conforming also to the advice of the Polish major, Suchodolski, his chief of the staff, who joined him from the Confederates' ranks, he widely circulated, in all parts of Russia, a well-couched and solemn order, printed in several dialects, in large letters, by which he abolished servitude, liberated unconditionally all the peasants from the grasp of their oppressors, and made them proprietors of the soil on which they toiled and worked; giving proper instructions to all the governors of the Russian empire, for the rigorous fulfilment of this order, under the penalty of death. This measure would have completely disorganised the Russian empire; would have put down the influence of the nobility for ever; might, if strictly executed, and opportunely enforced, have worked a great social revolution; and had not the adventurous, daring Cossack chief, shaken the confidence of his bands by all kinds of debauchery, and scorn for every kind of religious creed.

After his arrival at Kazan, General Bibikof found all the citizens and nobles eager to take arms against a man who visibly attempted their complete annihilation; and they immediately formed some regiments. The Empress Catherine, apprised of their conduct, and strongly urged by the necessity of self-preservation, assured them publicly of her gratitude, and ordered her imperial name to be inscribed in letters of gold among

the nobles and citizens of the town of Kazan—a miserable farce, gratifying only to vanity.

The merit of possessing some military talent can not be denied to General Bibikof. In marching from Kazan towards Orenburg he retook some towns, which had been surprised by the rebels, over whom, with the aid of his lieutenants, he gained some advantages. Pugatchef was soon apprised of his victorious march, just at the time when all the horrors of famine in Orenburg, gave him a well-founded hope of the speedy surrender of that important place. He, however, quickly retired from its walls, animated with a strong desire to retrieve his fortune on some more favourable occasion. The major-general, Prince Galliczyn, who was ordered to follow him quickly, with a great part of Bibikof's army, lost no time in attacking him in a strong position near Tateschtcheva. The combat was fierce and obstinate; and it was soon evident that Pugatchef's army was well trained and instructed by many Poles who had crossed swords with the Russians, not only in the wilds of the Baskhirs but also elsewhere. He was, therefore, repulsed with great loss; and as the Cossack chief did not think proper to fight a decisive battle immediately with him, he continued his retrograde movement, with his ferocious bands, in great order, without molestation.

Pugatchef retreating with extraordinary speed, changing every day the direction of his march, well acquainted with the country, and having the best possible informa-

tion of his adversary's movements, deceived Galliczyn ; and, after crossing a sandy desert, a large forest, and some almost impassable marshes by an unknown track, he in a few days concentrated all his forces, and appeared, in hostile attitude, before Bibikof's army, which was completely taken by surprise. The Prince accepted the battle : it was one of the most obstinate ever recorded in the annals of Northern Russia. Pugatchef was a skilful commander ; he employed, for the second time successfully, a very simple stratagem worthy to be mentioned, and which greatly contributed to gain the battle. As the battle was fought in the winter, so protracted in these gloomy regions ; and as the ground was covered with snow, Pugatchef, perceiving some snow-hills skirting one of his flanks, and at a point whereon he expected to be attacked, planted behind them some of his cannon, and ordered, under cover of his men, some trees and planks to be placed on the declivity of these snowy hills, directing as much water to be thrown on them as possible. This done, he feigned a retreat, after some resistance ; the Russians saw their adversary's weak point ; a strong body of Bibikof's infantry received peremptory orders to storm the rebel's wing, and was taken in the snare : the water thrown on the trees and planks was frozen, which made them slippery ; the Russians, in spite of all their efforts, were unable to climb them, and were suddenly exposed, at point blank distance, to such a deadly fire of musketry and grape-

shot, that they were almost annihilated; and as Pugatchef lost not a moment in taking advantage of his success, General Bibikof was completely beaten, and could scarcely effect his retreat with the wreck of his forces: he died soon after.

After the death of General Bibikof, Galliczyn took the command of the army; and having concentrated his forces, and reinforced them by some scattered regiments, marched against Pugatchef, whom he closely chased for several days through wild and unknown tracts, with great spirit and perseverance, reaching him at last at Kargula, not far from Orenburgh, where, after six hours' hot fighting, he completely routed his bands. Pugatchef fled towards the Ural mountains in great haste; and the rebellion was supposed to be entirely suppressed.

Only one head however of the Cerberus was cut off. The inaccessible wilds of the Ural mountains, unknown to the Russian troops, swarmed with numerous hordes of Kalmucks, Kirghis, and wandering Cossacks, whom Galliczyn dispersed rather than annihilated; these wilds also, were not completely cleared of those peasants and miners, who, as we have seen, were always eager to breathe fresh air and avenge their wrongs. At the magic voice of Pugatchef, they again took the field; and for the second time, he appeared with an army, victorious in all directions. After mastering some towns and forts, built for the purpose of keeping in obedience the refugees and miners, he besieged and burned

Troitsa. Beaten, however, near that town by General de Koln, he disappeared again in the mountains.

More excited than dispirited by these reverses, he determined to retrieve his fortune by all possible means. Pugatchef descended, for the third time, from the summit of the Ural, and conceived the bold idea of conquering the ancient kingdom of Kazan; like a chafed lion rushing suddenly from his den, he marched towards Kazan on the wings of destruction; burning, sacking, and killing everything which obstructed his terrible progress, but treating at the same time his friends with great kindness and liberality. After gaining several victories over the Russians, and putting to the sword every one in the suburbs of Kazan, he mastered nearly the whole kingdom. Everything was completely subdued excepting the citadel. The Archbishop of Kazan came submissively, with large bags of gold, to Pugatchef; acknowledged him publicly as his sovereign, and promised to crown him, and to provide him with immense treasures, as soon as the citadel surrendered. Not only the latter, but the generality of the population in the regions of Orenburg, Kazan, Uffa, the whole of Siberia, and the whole country to the river Ural, had declared unanimously for the daring impostor. Pugatchef besieged the strong citadel of Kazan; and having been apprised of the treasures there concealed, promised its plunder to his bands, and pressed the siege vigorously. Major General Paul Potemkin, relative to the celebrated favourite of the czarina, dared not openly



to fight with Pugatchef; he did not even try to prevent the burning of Kazan; and would, in all probability, have been taken by him, and have perished in torments, had not Colonel Michelson appeared, at the critical time, to relieve him.

Michelson, the active, indefatigable, worthy subaltern of Rumiantzov, was not wanting in this exigency; he gave not a moment's rest to the rebels, and was constantly at their heels. During several days they resisted him with great skill and ferocity; he, however, compelled them to accept a battle, in which they were so far beaten and routed, that Pugatchef himself escaped almost by miracle. He repassed the Wolga with scarcely three hundred Cossacks of the Iaïk, the remainder of his numerous army. This time, according to all human probability, he was humbled to the dust, and the rebellion seemed crushed and annihilated. But while various rumours were prevalent respecting his death, he suddenly reappeared, like the fabled Antæus, reinvigorated from his fall. He seemed only to have to stamp with his foot on the top of the Ural mountains, to wrest from them new and powerful legions devoted to him. His manifestos and proclamations, written in different languages, penetrated into the remotest parts of the empire; other hordes of Baskirs, Kalmucks, Cossacks, and exiles, swarms of peasants armed with scythes and other agricultural instruments, flocked from all directions to hail their liberator. The mass of the people are seldom mistaken

in their friends. At sight of these new bands, which seem to have mainly increased in proportion to his misfortunes, he yet cherished a hope of reaching Moscow, where his emissaries were secretly organizing a powerful rebellion. Well aware of their exertions, and having been taught by experience how difficult it was for his newly-levied troops to cope in the field with well-trained regulars, Pugatchef resolved to avoid all fortified towns and general engagements; to march through the deserts, to descend the Volga, to approach the Caucasus, and to amass, during his projected journey, the remainder of the new colonies, the hordes of discontented Tatars, the Cossacks of the Don favourable to him, as well as the Cossacks of the Ukraine, and especially the Zaporogues, deprived of their ancient territory. He intended also to proclaim, for the third time, the freedom of the press, liberty of conscience, the extermination of the nobility, and the abolition of all social and hereditary distinctions. In spreading everywhere terror, devastation, and fire, he wished to disorganise the stability of the empire, to undermine the throne, and to change, reform, and remodel the whole of Russia; or to plunge her in anarchy, if he could not be her sole and mighty ruler.

But the favourable tide for accomplishing so gigantic a project had ebbed; the people showed some mistrust and disaffection; and the treaty of Koadtshak-Kainardgy which was concluded between Turkey and Russia, in the month of July, on the banks of the Danube,

obliged Pugatchef to change his quarters. Dreading, not without strong reasons, that the army which was engaged against the Turks, might be sent against him, he came to the decision of remaining on the spot which he had chosen, in the very centre of his power, near those deserts and wilds so familiar to him ; and where he might yet find a refuge, in the event of any misfortune befalling him ; he resolved to annoy the Russians by quick marches, unexpected attacks, and guerilla warfare ; thereby training his bands, by well directed excursions, and by the exercise of unremitted and restless activity, to acquire, gradually, the nerve, experience, and power of disciplined soldiers ; and gaining time and opportunity either to seduce and disorganize the Russian armies, or to brave them openly.

As Pugatchef had lost, in previous battles, many able officers who were training his army ; as his adversaries were infinitely superior to the former Russian commanders ; as he had some practical knowledge of navigation and was a good sailor, he descended suddenly the Wolga, on a small flotilla which had been formerly constructed by his orders ; and having heard that a Russian corps, unprepared for his visit, was encamped near the small town of Dubofska, under the orders of Baron Diez, he pounced suddenly upon him, put to the sword every living soul, and took by storm, Pensa and Saratof. The governor of the latter town escaped with scarcely fifteen of his men. A few days later, Pugatchef, whose very name spread terror in all directions, seduced the gar-

ri-son of Demitrewsk; and after putting to death without mercy all the Russians faithful to the czarina, he feasted his eyes with the agonies of its commander, who, abandoned by his soldiers for his oppression and cruelty, was barbarously impaled alive by the order of the Cossack.

Not far from that town, Pugatchef, having been apprised that a scientific man, Lowitz, a member of several universities and a distinguished astronomer, was actively engaged, by order of the Russian government, in taking the proper measures for the construction of a navigable canal between the river Wolga and the Don, summoned him before him; and after conversing with him, asked him whether he was an astrologer and could foretell his destiny? On giving an evasive answer, the man of science was not a little amazed at the sight of his own letter, which the terrible Cossack drew from his pocket; and in which the astronomer had spoken slightly of him, and had given information to the Russian colonel respecting his military movements. Lowitz cried for mercy; but Pugatchef, casting on him the look of a tiger, ordered him to be lifted up with long spears, *that he might have the better opportunity*, as he said, *of giving more correct information respecting this world, and be on the way to the other, nearer the countless stars.* Thus perished Lowitz in terrible agonies, in spite of all his entreaties to spare his life.

The Empress Catherine, having now nothing to fear from the Turks, who were often duped by Russian diplomacy, in the most critical moments for the safety

of the Russian empire, was able to concentrate all her power against the Cossack chief. Count Peter Panin, who had distinguished himself in the last Turkish war, received a peremptory order to march immediately with a large army and unlimited power against Pugatchef, and to crush the rebellion by all possible means.

Having been apprised that Colonel Michelson had successfully fought against Pugatchef, who had offered a large reward for his head, Count Panin detached from his army several regiments, and sent them by forced marches towards Kazan, for his release. He also dismissed, under different pretexts, all of superior rank, whose jealousy or inferiority might have obstructed his views and fettered the military talents and activity of Colonel Michelson. These two wise measures, and especially the latter, coupled with unexpected circumstances, produced the ultimate success of General Panin's mission, just at the very moment when the crown of the czarina was already tottering.

Pugatchef must have possessed a secret and unaccountable charm to make himself dreaded and cherished at the same time. Even at the time when the victorious army pressed him with restless activity; when, by the loss of several engagements, his forces were reduced to 4,000 men; and himself, compelled constantly to be changing his quarters; his very appearance produced wonders; at his mere voice in the districts in which he had never been before, the people flocked to him, murdered their lords, and acknowledged

him their sovereign and master, with a sort of devotion difficult to describe, and which surpasses all belief. At length, though vanquished, he seemed to have formed the most dangerous of his plans; he crossed the Wolga, gave the slip to his enemies, and resolved to march towards Moscow. Whole regions went over to him; the utmost consternation prevailed in that capital, the great mass of Russian serfs were longing for his arrival; and had he reached Moscow, nothing could have possibly resisted him, as the fame of his genius and victories, strongly magnified, preceded him. Some writers venture to say, that he had more chance of being ultimately successful in his second attempt to conquer Moscow, when he had matured his plans, than at first. In order to check his progress, and to convince the people of his being an impostor, his first wife, Sophia (the second he married at Iaïtzkoy), was found out at the Don, and sent to meet him publicly, by special orders of Catherine II. The interview took place. She came on him unexpectedly, but the object of the stratagem failed. Pugatchef did not lose, for an instant, his presence of mind; and, perceiving her, he said to his friends, "Take care of that woman; I knew her husband; he was very kind to me; the poor creature is at times deranged."

But the time had now arrived, when Pugatchef was rapidly approaching the end of his hitherto prosperous career.

Colonel Michelson having received the necessary

reinforcements, and gained new advantages, lost not a moment in marching against Pugatchef. Not satisfied with forcing him to retreat with his army from the town of Tzaritshin, he pushed him towards Tschernoïar, cut off his supplies, and following his advantage with great ability, surprised him at last in a difficult position, when his scattered forces, embarrassed by waggons, women, artillery, cavalry, and a multitude without order, were scarcely moving, in a long and deep ravine on the banks of the Wolga. His bands, attacked in all directions, were compelled to fight for their lives, and made the most determined resistance ; but soon disabled by the superiority of numbers, not less by the difficulties of their military position, than by the efforts of their adversaries, they gave way and fled in all directions. Some of them were cut to pieces ; others, who endeavoured to escape, were hurled with their horses and waggons from high rocks into the river, and were either killed or drowned ; the remainder surrendered at discretion.

After miracles of valour and supernatural efforts in fighting to the last, Pugatchef, covered with Russian blood and gore, was compelled to seek safety in flight. Unhurt amidst a thousand dangers which threatened his life ; spared by all the bullets, spears, and swords directed against him, he plunged into the Wolga, swam across the river, and fled into the desert, where he found himself by a singular chance on the wild banks of the Ouzem, in the very spot so familiar to him,

whence he had started eighteen months before on his terrible expedition. Weary, anxious, having lost his army, his wealth, and his most devoted subalterns; hunted in all directions, but not dispirited, he took shelter in a wild cavern, concealed by an enormous stone, bearing to this day his name, and attended only by a few friends, who soon, however, were obliged to disperse.

Of all his partisans torn from him by terror, fatigue, misery, and all-powerful hunger, there remained only three Cossacks, Tworogoff, of Iletz ; Tschumakof, and Fidulef, of Iaïk. All three gave him, repeatedly, the most unequivocal proofs of their devotion; and never failed to risk their lives for him and his popular cause; all three seem to have enjoyed, to the last, his confidence. At last, however, alarmed at their common danger and the gloomy prospects for the future, they began to waver; they remarked to each other the full pardon and the reward which was offered by the empress to him who should deliver their chief to the Russians. After some consultation, the lower feelings of human nature prevailed, and they resolved to purchase their own safety by the sacrifice of their chief: but such was the magic ascendancy which Pugatchef exercised over every one who came in contact with him, that though they were, next to himself, the most daring, they all trembled lest he should suspect their intention. One of them being seated close to Pugatchef, hinted to him the danger to which he was exposed, and the impossibility of avoiding it, if he should still refuse to beg the mercy



of the empress. At the word, mercy, Pugatchef, though humbled and assailed by his misfortunes, started like a tiger, and drew a sharp dagger to plunge it into the heart of his pretended friend ; when the two other Cossacks, who were already anxiously watching all his movements, jumped on him, and after a desperate struggle, disarmed, secured, and conducted him immediately to the camp of Major-General Samarof, posted at that time with his corps on the banks of the Iaïk. Thence he was dragged in chains, to the town of Iaïtzkoy (now Uralsk), and soon after, to Simbirsk. From this place, by the express order of General Panin, he was publicly driven through all the country he had sacked, to Moscow, shut up in an iron cage, and attended by a detachment of soldiers.

As soon as Pugatchef arrived at that capital, his trial commenced with all possible formality and display ; a special commission of the Senate was ordered to attend it and be present at all its minute investigations. There he avowed that he was a Cossack of the Don ; he named the place of his birth ; he was recognised not only by his relatives, but by his former companions in arms ; and after the strictest examination of his life, it was not proved either that his rebellion was instigated by any foreign power, or that he had made treaties with independent states, as mentioned in the historical romance bearing his name ; though all this might certainly have happened, had the existence of the rebellion been prolonged. The empress forbade the application to him of the torture, as at first intended ;

either from clemency, or the fear of some sanguinary reaction which might have exposed the empire to dangerous disturbances. It is said that the Empress Catherine visited him secretly in disguise, attended by her lover.

Pugatchef voluntarily avowed, before his death, that his great resemblance to Peter III., coupled with clerical intrigue, was the true reason of his rebellion, in which he would undoubtedly have been successful, had his lieutenants fulfilled his orders, and had he not had Colonel Michelson for his principal adversary. The above named resemblance between the ill-fated Peter III. and Pugatchef was not such as is sometimes met with between twins; but it was at all events a striking resemblance, although Pugatchef's countenance was gloomy, and his frame infinitely more vigorous. Pugatchef was condemned to be quartered alive; to have his hands, feet, and head cut off, and to be left on the scaffold, his body to be burned, and his ashes scattered to the wind.

To the last moment he hoped for mercy, in consideration of the daring courage he undoubtedly possessed; but when all hope of life had vanished, he completely lost, it is said, that spirit and ferocious energy which made him so celebrated: he appeared, even, so timid and terror-stricken in his dungeon, that it was necessary to lift him up, that he might not faint, and to enable him distinctly to hear every word of his sentence, to which he was obliged to listen.

The vanquished rebel-chief, however, was not subjected to the whole of his cruel sentence; in all probability owing to a mistake, or the pity of his executioner. What confirms this is, that the executioner received the knout, had his tongue cut out, and was sent to Siberia for life. Pugatchef was first beheaded (21st of January, 1775,) and afterwards quartered, and the different parts of his body exhibited on the principal gates of the town. Some of his accomplices were also executed, and others were sent to Siberia. The others, among them Antizof, were employed in pacifying their countrymen. The payment for guarding the frontiers, suspended temporarily, in order to defray the expenses of the Turkish war, was resumed among the hordes of the Iaik; and everything, for the time, pacified.

Such was the end of this rebellion, which, during the space of eighteen months, was the cause of immense losses, the burning of numerous and flourishing towns, the complete destruction of three hundred and fifty boroughs, the sack of extensive provinces, the massacre of upwards of 350,000 human beings, and the extinction of several noble families.

It was decided by a special order, that the town of Iaïtzkoy, near which was the principal focus of the rebellion, should in future be called Uralskaia; and the river Iaik, Uralsk; alluding to the large chains of mountains of that name, from the foot of which it flows to the northern shore of the Caspian sea.

In investigating the life of Pugatchef, we cannot

refrain from comparing him with Stenko Razin. Both these celebrated men were Cossacks; both raised a rebellion which made the whole of Russia tremble to her very foundation; both rose by the same means, and almost in the same places; both would have changed the destiny of the Russian empire, had they not missed the proper tide of action; both intended to abolish slavery, and exterminate the nobility; both, cloaking themselves under the mask of concern for the people, aspired to the supreme power; both took advantage of religion and of the clergy for accomplishing their private political purposes; both were practical and excellent seamen, as well as good generals; both were betrayed, and perished on the scaffold; both were cruel, daring, and crafty; and might have been mighty rulers in the north-eastern wilds; but would have been crushed under the weight of the crown of the czars, after plunging the Russian empire in a long anarchy; both punished crimes by the commission of still greater crimes; so certain is it that every great injustice perpetrated in a higher social position, always creates a terrible reaction. Had the brother of Stenko Razin, a colonel of the Cossacks, not been hanged by the orders of Prince Dolgorouki, the lives of upwards of 300,000 human beings would have been spared; and fifteen thousand men would not have perished in torments on the scaffold: had not Peter III. been murdered by order of the Empress Catherine, the frightful rebellion of Pugatchef would never have taken place, and 350,000 men would

have been spared. They were both evidently children of democracy. Stenko Razin seems to have been craftier than Pugatchef, because the latter cast off the mask too soon. It is, however, difficult to say, which of the two was more daring and skilful. Some writers, and among them two Englishmen, assert that Pugatchef met his fate with the most undaunted resolution. Let it be remembered that his examination was secret; and that what was allowed to transpire respecting him was exactly suited to Catherine's interest. I gathered many things from a friend of Suchodolski, who returned to Russian Poland, and who used to relate many interesting anecdotes of Pugatchef. Suchodolski died at an advanced age. Pugatchef was evidently a sort of Tamerlan; his rebellion gives an idea of the weak points of Russia.

We have not had, to this time, any real, well written history of Pugatchef. What seems extraordinary is, how Pugatchef, after his defeats, appeared with new trains of artillery. The best lieutenants of Pugatchef were Chita, Salavatka, Naga-Baba-Azanof, and Suchodolski.(!)

See Lesur's *Histoire des Cosaques*; William Tooke; *Authentic Memoirs of Catherine II.*; *Life of Catherine II.*, 3 vols.; *Biography of Russian Generals*; *Les Amours de Catherine II.*; Voltaire; and Cox's *Travels in Russia*.

## CHAPTER XII.

## DESCRIPTION OF THE UKRAINE.

Derivation of the word Ukraine—Its Boundaries—Eastern and Western Ukraine—Its Fertility—Description of the Steppes—Their Loneliness and Danger—The Cimmerians and Khosars—Their early History—Description of Kiow—Its interesting Reminiscences—Brief Account of various Towns in the Palatinate of Kiow—Towns in the Palatinate of Czernichow—Animals—Population of the Ukraine—Costume—Singular Custom—Nuptial Ceremonies—Characteristics—Description of the Nobility—Music—Poetry—Legends—Superstitions—Prophecy respecting the Ukraine—Visions of the past.

THE country situated between the 50th and 53rd degrees of north latitude, and of which the city of Kiow has ever been, if not the central, at all events the principal place of resort; the country traversed by the foaming waters of the mighty Dnieper, and extending about five hundred English miles in length, and nearly two hundred miles in breadth, may furnish some idea of the contested locality of the Ukraine, which has, at no time, been accurately defined.

This vast extent of barren fields, rich pastures, and cultivated lands, bounded at their edges by dense forests, deep lakes, and sandy *monticules*, formed a province, belonging, for the most part, to the ancient palatinates of Kiow, Bratslav, and Tchernikhof (comprised at the present day under the governments, *gubernies*, of Kharkov, and Pultava, Zytomierz, and Kiow). This ancient Polish

province, comprehending the southern part of Volhynia, the eastern part of Podolia, and some bleak districts which extend as far as the Black Sea, was called Ukraina (Oukraina), from the Polish words *Kraina*, *u Kraiu*, a country near the edge; *Kraiac ukroic*, to carve, to cut; a country near the limits, or towards the limits, or near a detached portion, near a part cut off. Some authors suppose the Ukraine derives its name from the Latin, as the Romans called this province *Acheronensis*. For a long period it was a mere desert, the haunt of numerous herds of wild cattle, the dwelling-place from time immemorial of some nomadic tribes, the wreck of ancient nations, and frequented by hordes of adventurers, whose origin is involved in obscurity.

The Ukraine was long the apple of discord between the Tatars, the Poles, and the Russians, by whom it was deemed a common frontier. The Greek authors have partially described this country: their description is equally applicable, for the most part, to the main features of its appearance at the present time; they notice its wandering hordes, its immense troops of wild horses, and many of its other characteristics.

The Ukraine is divided into two parts; Eastern Ukraine and Western Ukraine, stretching eastward and westward from the banks of the Dnieper. It is also divided into the Russian, and the Polish Ukraine; the latter, the more extensive and populous of the two, contains the city of Kiow, the capital of the Ukraine; and preserves, even to our own times, its primitive

name of a province. Although both Ukraines belonged formerly to Poland, as they now belong to Russia, we shall give a special description of the western Ukraine only, that is, of Polish Ukraine (*Ukraina Polska*.)

On the north of the Polish Ukraine are Polessia (*Polesie*), and Volhynia (*Volyn*): on the east it is bounded by the Dnieper, on the west by Red Russia, (*Czerwona Rus*)\* and Podolia (*Podole*); and on the south by the Black Sea (*Czarne Morze*.)

The political existence of the Ukraine seems to belong to the past; since, in legitimate accuracy, neither government nor province of the Ukraine at present exists. There, however, is a government of Volhynia, and likewise of Podolia, in Russian Poland. Nevertheless, every Pole who is a native of Russian Poland understands this designation better than any other; the more especially, as in every point of view, the Ukraine bears the peculiar and exclusively characteristic impress of its origin.

The armorial bearings of the Ukraine, as a province of the ancient kingdom of Poland, were an angel, with a sword in his right hand, and a halo over his head, a two-headed eagle and a crescent moon in an oval, set in a large cross. In this province there were three palatinates, those of Kïow, Bratslav, and Tchernigow. There are several bishops, both Roman catholic and catholic of the Greek united church, and also a metropolitan of the Greek faith, schismatic and not united.

The Ukraine, as a province, enjoyed privileges from



which others of the Russic territories were excluded. As the Ukraine was inhabited by the Polish Cossacks, it was very difficult to take an exact estimate of its ever-varying population. The Ukraine formed, in almost every particular, an exception to the other Polish provinces. Its rivers are the Dnieper, too well known to need description; the Dzieszna, the Sula, the Vorskla, and the Samara, which poured their tributary waters into the Dnieper on the east; and the Teterof, the Pierna, the Ros, the Tasmina, with several others, on the west. The climate of the Ukraine is temperate, being softer in the Polish than in the Russian Ukraine. This country is rich in various produce; its soil is almost everywhere impregnated with saltpetre; it abounds in timber, grain, esculent vegetables, odoriferous flowers, and delicious fruits; and was justly considered from remote ages as the garden and granary of the neighbouring provinces. The numerous herds, scattered over the luxuriant and spacious pasturages; the fish with which the rivers teem; the honey and wax of the bees, in the management of which the inhabitants excel; the oil, saltpetre, leather, tobacco, salt (the produce of the salt lakes towards the Black Sea), and many other useful articles, may justly entitle this country to the figurative character of "a land flowing with milk and honey." In short, if the Ukraine were not at times laid waste by myriads of locusts, (*Szarancza*, pronounced *Charantsha*), which destroy sometimes the most abundant crop; if the cataracts

of the Dnieper did not form an obstacle to the navigation of that river ; and if the energies of the population were not crippled by Russian domination, trade with the Ukraine would be more flourishing than even that of the East Indies ; and, at the same time, its territory would be one of the most fruitful and delightful in all Europe.

The traveller, journeying from the romantic scenes of the beautiful and mountainous Podolia, commonly called the garden of Poland, on reaching the Ukraine, is struck with amazement at beholding those vast uncultivated plains, known by the appellation of Steppes. In these Steppes, the troops of wild horses

Wild as the wild deer and untaught,  
With spur and bridle undefiled.

BYRON'S "Mazeppa."

dashing across the plains, are seen suddenly to halt, to extend their necks, and gaze with intensity, as if surprised at the sight of a living being come to disturb them in their solitude ; one of them neighs, others respond, then all retire with lightning speed.

A thousand horse and none to ride !  
With flowing tail and flying mane,  
Wide nostrils—never stretched by pain,  
Mouths bloodless to the bit or rein,  
And feet that iron never shod  
And flanks unscarred by spur or rod,  
A thousand horse, the wild, the free,  
Like waves that follow o'er the sea.

BYRON'S "Mazeppa."

At times also is descried, soaring in the welkin, a

solitary eagle, or perchance a flight of large ravens. Sometimes hungry wolves have been known to pursue, with savage howling, the flying steeds yoked to the traveller's car. Now and then may be seen flights of wild ducks and geese cleaving the air; or cranes in triangular bodies, with other birds, sending forth shrieks that re-echo in the deep silence around. Not a house, not a tree for miles, not a spot of elevated ground meets the eye, except, indeed, large barrows containing the bones or dust of the myriads of victims of war or pestilence. Ravines, called *iary*, of immense length, sometimes intersect the monotonous plains. There exists also an ancient rampart, known by the name of *Wall-zmiow*; this is of considerable length; and there is also another commencing near Biala Cerkiew, which disappears towards the Dnieper, and is called the Rampart of Trajan, a name explained by a popular tradition, but rejected by historical criticism.

The Ukraine has been, from remote antiquity, the theatre of sanguinary battles. It was anciently inhabited by the Cimmerians, extending from the river Kuban to the mouth of the Dniester towards the Black Sea. Herodotus relates, that at the time of the irruption of the Scythians into the country of the Cimmerians, the latter were overcome by the superior numbers of the invaders, and their sovereigns sacrificed by the sword of the victors, and buried on the banks of the Dniester, where the vestiges of their tombs were still traceable. In proportion as the traveller advances

towards the east and south of the Ukraine, similar tombs become more numerous ; and the Steppes assume an aspect still more monotonous and sterile. Occasionally the pelican of the desert is to be met with. At sight of a human being, this rare and unsocial bird, a fitting representative of the Black Sea, takes rapidly to its wing, uttering a wild and piercing cry. Here and there, too, may be seen an enormous and isolated oak tree, whose spreading branches and venerable head awaken a reminiscence of bygone ages. Were these time-honoured oaks gifted with the faculty of speech, and could they describe all the events to which they have been eye-witnesses, what strange things could they not tell us, what mysteries unveil, what mundane vanities rebuke; might they not, perchance, instruct us, how to interchange our ideas by some hitherto unknown medium of converse with our distant friends? how to unfold the secrets of our hearts, to the objects of our affection, by the roaring of the winds or the sacred power of music. Whoever has not seen the mighty Steppes of the Ukraine, especially in the dead of the night, and at the rising and setting of the sun, cannot possibly describe the sensation which they produce; their vast expanse, their soul-chilling monotony, shake, humble, crush the human mind.

The traveller in journeying over these Steppes, occasionally meets with large inns, or caravansaries, the true oases of this great desert. They are for the most part kept by Russian Puritans, or by Jews (*Karaimes*),

whose lively gesticulations and oriental characteristics bespeak an Asiatic origin. In these resting places, particularly in such as are kept by Russian Puritans (*Markitani*), there is need of precaution; personal security is often endangered, and frequent murders have been committed, few being discovered, from the secluded nature of the locality. The traveller, therefore, in these regions, should be well provided with fire-arms, of which the innkeepers stand in great dread. Banditti sometimes lie in wait for the merchants returning from the marts at Kiow, or from the port of Odessa, and who are supposed to carry with them considerable sums of money.

After the wars of the Scythians, the Cimmerians and the Khosars, supposed to be the earliest ancestors of the Cossacks of the Ukraine, traded with the Greeks of Byzantium; the industry and activity of the latter, induced them to establish Greek colonies, and to build several cities in these provinces; amongst others, Olbia and Nicosia, whose names bear testimony to their Hellenic origin. At a subsequent period, this country witnessed the sanguinary wars between Mithridates and the Romans. The Goths, in their turn, about the year 214, and the Huns about 376, extended their incursions to the banks of the Dnieper. In the tenth century, the Moscovites (Russians), inhabitants of the shores of Ladoga, driven from the north to the south, poured down upon these fertile territories, under Rurik, who established his residence in the wealthy town of Kiow.

The companions of Rurik, Oskold and Dyr, were raised to the dignity of governors of Kïow; but Oleg, guardian of Igor, the son of Rurik, after having caused the above governors to be massacred, and having subjugated the Viaticans and the Radimitchans, the Severians and the Drevelians, nations of Slavonic origin, founded the Russic power, which became more formidable under Igor, and arrived at a great point of maturity under Vladymir the Great.

As the latter divided his conquered territories among his twelve sons, their dissensions gave Boleslaus the Great, king of Poland, an opportunity of avenging those tribes or nations that had been invaded by the Russians; and of this opportunity he availed himself the more readily, as they had been allies of Poland. Sviatopelk, a Russic duke, and step-son of King Boleslaus, driven out of Kïow by Jaroslav his nephew, sought refuge in Poland. Jaroslav not contented with having dispossessed him of his possessions, invaded Poland. Boleslaus marched to oppose him; and, after having twice defeated him, and re-established Sviatopelk in his ancient possessions, made his triumphal entry into the city of Kïow, in the year 1018.<sup>a</sup> He returned into his own states with an immense booty. Some time after this, Boleslaus the Bold, great grandson of Boleslaus the Great, being attacked by the Russic princes, defeated them, reduced the Ukraine into subjection, and took the city of Kïow; but, indulging in the most shameful ex-

cesses, he lost the fruits of his victories, and having committed great cruelties, amongst them the murder of the bishop Szczepanoski, he was dethroned and excommunicated, and died a miserable death in a foreign land.

At the time when the Polish scimitar was menacing the power of the Russic dukes, a power which was not yet firmly established, there appeared in the Steppes of the Ukraine, some tribes of Polovcians (Polovcy), springing, like the Hungarians and Turks, from the race of the Huns. In 1060, these Polovcians made themselves masters of the town of Pereaslaw, in Lesser Bulgaria; and taking advantage of the dissensions of the Russic dukes, established themselves in the Ukraine. The calamities which weighed heavily upon these territories, were succeeded by others still more terrible; when the hordes of the Tatars, at first led by Genkiscan, and subsequently by other chiefs, commenced the struggle, which lasted five centuries, between barbarism and civilisation, between Europe and Asia—that dreadful struggle during which Poland alone preserved the other powers from destruction, otherwise inevitable, and which, at a later period, was the principal cause of her ruin.

The Russic power, weakened as it was by the Polish and Tatar arms, still thought itself sufficiently strong to make an attack upon the Lithuanian possessions. The grand duke of Lithuania, Guedymin, already famous by the victories he had gained over the Teutronics, placed himself at the head of an army, traversed Volhynia,

overtook twelve Russic dukes near the river Pierna, gave them battle, defeated them, made himself master of the whole Ukraine, took possession of Kiow in 1320, established a governor-general in the conquered territories, and returned into Lithuania. His son, the Grand Duke Olgierd, inheriting the high qualities of his father, attacked the Tatars in Podolia (which was still groaning under the yoke), near *Sine Wody*, totally defeated them, and united, in 1331, the two provinces to Lithuania, which formerly extended from the Baltic to the Black Sea.

The Tatars, subdued by Olgierd, having rebelled, the Grand Duke Vitold, son of Keystut, and nephew of the above mentioned Olgierd, marched against them at the head of an army, attacked them several times on the bank of the Don, and made them feel the weight of his sword.

Vitold, ere long, penetrated the confines of Asia; and powerful princes sought his alliance and protection. One of the Tatar princes, Tacktamisz, being twice beaten, and then driven from his states by Timur-Kutluk, of the horde of Kapchake, one of the lieutenants of Tamerlan, solicited Vitold to protect him against his enemy. Vitold kindly received the illustrious exile, granted him a residence in the town of Kiow, promised to reinstate him in his domains, and to punish Timur-Kutluk the usurper. Although many of Vitold's friends advised him to abstain from taking any part in the measures required to effect these objects, warning him of the immense numerical superiority of



the Tatars, and reminding him of the military experience and valour they had derived from their wars with Tamerlan; Vitold, unshaken in his decision and nothing daunted, assembled an army composed of Tatars and the Russic dukes, his tributaries, as well as of Lithuanians and Poles, under experienced leaders: ambitious of glory, panting for conquest, and hating repose, he led his forces against Timur-Kutluk.

The latter, having learned that Vitold was advancing at the head of a hostile army, sent to him an envoy with a message, couched in the following words:—

“Valiant prince, deliver into our hands Takhtamysz, formerly a powerful chief, now an exile and our enemy: such is the will of the khan, my master.”

Vitold replied—“I am on my way to see him!” then, having crossed the Sula, Khorolem, and several other rivers, he came in sight of the army of Timur-Kutluk, encamped on the opposite bank of the Vorskla.

Well acquainted with the high renown of Vitold, as well as with his military talents, he did not appear disposed to combat with him. He sent a second time an envoy, bearer of the following question:—

“I ask you the cause of this war. I have never offended you. I have never invaded your states. What then do you want from me?”

Vitold answered, “God is preparing to give me the dominion over all nations; my will is, that you be my son, and my tributary, or my prisoner.”

Timur-Kutluk, according to several historians, was

not averse to peace under certain conditions ; but Vitold required that Timur-Kutluk should restore all the provinces of Takhtamysz, and that money should be coined, bearing Vitold's image.

The Mongolian chief requested a delay of three days for his final answer, ardently expecting the arrival of reinforcements under Ediga Holoossa, a renowned Tatar chief, who soon made his appearance. Having heard the conditions of peace, he exclaimed, that he would rather perish than accept them ; and he immediately demanded an interview with the grand duke of Lithuania, which was granted. The two chiefs met each other in the space between the two armies. Vitold was one of the greatest captains of the age, and a renowned conqueror. Ediga Holoossa was one of the ablest chiefs of Tamerlan, whose praise, admiration, and even jealousy, he excited. After the usual greetings, the Tatar addressed him, "Great prince, Timur-Kutluk, with good reason, called you father, for you are older than he ; but as I am more advanced in years than you, let my image be stamped on your coinage ; bow down your proud head before your master, and be my slave." At these words, Vitold's anger was roused to the highest pitch ; he retired from the Tatar's presence, reviewed his army, and placed it in battle array. The two Tatar chiefs made a final effort to bring about a reconciliation, and they would perhaps have succeeded, had not a Pole, named Szczukoski, who, seeing the celebrated Vitold, for the first time in his life, undecided and

wavering, thus rashly addressed him :—" Great prince, if the charms of a young and beautiful spouse, perchance attach you so strongly to the pleasures of this world, permit us at least to perish, or humble the pride of these innumerable hordes." These words wounded the pride of Vitold, and he gave immediate orders for the attack.

Both armies amounted together to five hundred thousand men. The Tatars were, at first, unable to resist the impetuous shock of Vitold's troops, far less numerous than the Tatar host, which, in the hyberbolical language of some of the historians, was said to be "countless as the sand of the sea." The bravery of Vitold was assisted by a few cannon, employed, for the first time in the north of Europe in this conflict. These, though ill-served, committed great ravages in the ranks of the Tatars : but they failed to produce, in his favour, the successful result which, at the battle of Cressy, the use of artillery, then of modern introduction into European warfare, assured to the English. Ediga thrice rallied his troops, and by a desperate effort, captured the scanty artillery. Vitold performed prodigies of valour ; but, being at length overwhelmed by superior numbers, he was completely defeated. After having lost forty thousand men, and seventy-five princes, he was indebted for his life, to the swiftness of his courser. This famous battle was fought on the 12th August, 1399, on the banks of the Vorskla. The loss of the Tatars was enormous. After the victory, Ediga

Holoossa pillaged Kiow, returning laden with booty and glory into his deserts; and having learned that Vitold was assembling a fresh army, he offered the latter an advantageous peace, which was accepted.

Some historians have wrongly recorded that Vitold was conquered by Tamerlan, who died in 1395, four years before this battle took place. The mistake may have arisen from the confusion of the names of Timur-Kutluk and Timur-Lankh (Tamerlan.) It is to be remarked that, although Vitold was worsted in the battle of Vorskla against Timur-Kutluk, yet he always preserved his ascendancy over the Transdnieperian Tatars, inasmuch as he brought away several of their tributary khans at the battle of Grundwald.<sup>(b)</sup>

The whole of the Ukraine, as well as the country which extends to the Black Sea, comprehending Wallachia, remained under Lithuanian dominion till 1453, when Mahomet II., sultan of Turkey, after the taking of Constantinople, changed the political condition of the east. Shortly after this conquest, the Ottomans achieved another over the vassals of Lithuania, already united to Poland. A long series of unfortunate wars, comprehending those with the Cossacks, ravaged the Ukraine and all the south of Poland up to the time of the treaty of Karlovitz, concluded in 1699. The Ottomans, then swearing eternal friendship to Poland, united themselves to their natural ally, in order to combat the Muscovite power, which was beginning to extend itself in every direction. The history of its wars from Peter the

Great to Nicholas I. is too well known to require our notice here. With regard to the Transdnieperian Ukraine, it passed with the city of Kïow, by the illegal treaty of Andruszof, in 1688, under the dominion of the czars of Russia. This treaty, concluded in the reign of Sobieski, was a most unfortunate one for Poland, who, by the consequent troubles, was weakened and disorganised; and the same treaty subsequently brought down gradual calamities upon Polish Ukraine; especially in the year 1768, during the revolt of Zelezniaque and Gonta, which was fostered and organised by Russia.

After the second dismemberment of Poland, Polish Ukraine passed also (according to all appearances, provisionally) under Russian domination.

Our notice of the principal towns of the Ukraine shall be preceded by a description of Kïow (which the Russians spell Kïef), the capital of the province. The origin of Kïow appears to date from a time very far anterior to our own era; it may be traced back, in the opinion of some annalists, to the period when the Greeks (Cheronites), who laid the first stone of this city, carried on an active commerce with Byzantium, the modern Constantinople. On the right bank of the Dnieper, the true patriarch of Polish rivers, which pours its broad floods into the Euxine, stands the sacred city of Kïow, crowning a rugged steep, that rises from the bosom of the moving sands on the river's brink. It is divided into two portions, the upper town, called Pïeczarsk, and the lower, called Dolny Kïov. The

former contains the noble cathedral of St. Sôphia, consecrated in 1037, a masterpiece of architecture and magnificence; and in the same portion of the city, there are subterranean vaults or catacombs, containing the bones of many saints or Russian martyrs. Under the ruins of the ancient church of St. Basil, are alabaster tablets with Greek inscriptions, bearing the date 260 of the Christian era. Kiow has always been the seat of extensive commerce, and several times has been surrounded with ramparts, the scene of many a warlike achievement. When, in 1018, Boleslaus the Great, king of Poland, entered this city in the character of a conqueror, it contained eight spacious squares, and more than four hundred churches, with their gilded towers, shedding floods of reflected radiance when the sunbeams played upon them. These churches contained immense riches, supposed to have been taken from Theodosia (Kaffa). A great part of this wealth was conveyed into Poland by Boleslaus; and at a later date, when Mieczyslaw II. occupied the Bohemian throne, the Bohemians carried the same into Prague. Although the greatest number of these churches were dedicated to the worship of the Greek Church, yet there was a Roman Catholic cathedral; and there were also some Roman Catholic churches. In the beginning of the tenth century, the Russian duke Oleg, first took this city from the Slavonians. In 988, Vladimir the Great, established his residence in this city; and, after having espoused Anne, or Anastasia, sister of Basil and Con-

stantine, who occupied the throne of Constantinople, embraced Christianity, together with a great number of his subjects. In the same year, the patriarch of Constantinople gave to Kïow its first metropolitan bishop, in the person of Bishop Michael. In 1018, Boleslaus the Great, and in 1077, his great grandson, Boleslaus the Bold, entered this city as victors. In 1228, it was plundered by the Tatars. In 1320, the grand duke of Lithuania, Gedymen, took possession of it in his turn. In 1399 and 1414, Ediga, who conquered Vitold, committed in it many acts of ravage and destruction, from which it never recovered. In 1650, Chmielnicki (Khmielnitski), made himself master of it with his Cossacks; but in the following year, Prince Janus Radziwill, always successful against these Cossacks, drove them out of it. In 1660, it was occupied by the Moscovites, and has remained in the power of the Russians ever since 1686. Kïow possesses an academy and a gymnasium. For a long time the schools of the government of Kïow were under the direction of the university of Vilno; but in recent years, they have been transferred to that of the university of Kharkof. A bishop of Kïow, J. A. Zaluski, is known in the annals of Poland, by his having formed a library composed of two hundred thousand volumes. This noble collection was ordered, in 1795, to be transported from Warsaw to Petersburg.

In the vast gardens of Pietcharsque, abounding in all the most delicious fruits of the season, there are vines producing grapes, from which wine is sometimes made.

In these gardens, situated in the upper town, black grouse are sometimes to be seen. Kiow has from a remote period been greatly celebrated for its exquisite confectionary, elsewhere unsurpassed. At the festival of St. John, towards the end of June, the highest ranks of society belonging to the Ukraine, and even the proprietors of all the Russic lands, assemble at Kiow; many transactions are effected, and immense sums change hands. The whole city is crowded with wealthy visitors; estates are sold and purchased; balls and brilliant parties exhilarate the young and the gay.

In 1831, during the war with the Russians, Kiow yearned to be united to Poland, its long-lost mother country. This happiness it was not destined to enjoy; and now, sad and solitary, seated in Moscovite darkness, sullied by acts of infamy, it groans as an unfortunate heroine in chains, directing its straining gaze towards regions whence the adored hero, the life of its life, is expected to arrive, to release it from its bondage, and to fill with the thrillings of rapture, the heart now rent by despair. It is worthy of remark, that though the government of Kiow is composed of a population professing the religion of the Greek church, yet, in 1831, the insurrection here was much more formidable to Russia, than it was in any other government forming a part of Russian Poland.

We will now take a view of other places formerly belonging to this palatinate. Loiovygrod, on the right bank of the Dnieper, is at the north of Kiow. Near



this borough, on the 31st July, 1640, Prince Janus Radzivil, grand hetman of Lithuania, gained a complete victory over 38,000 rebellious Cossacks. Vasilkof and Montvidovka were, in the olden time, fortresses on the ancient frontier of Polesia. Ovrucz, a small town on the Naryna, formerly, as well as at the present time, the chief town of the district; it now belongs to the government of Volhynia. Trylisc and Romanof, on the Kamienicza, Staviski fortified against the incursions of the barbarians; it has also been rendered famous by an act of heroic courage on the part of a Pole named Zglobitski. This heroic man was the first to leap upon the walls, and plant thereon the Polish standard; his hands were struck off in succession, and he seized the standard with his teeth, and held it so firmly, that no force could wrest it from him. He died with the consolation of preserving the standard from the hands of the enemy, and beholding his countrymen victorious. This noble act of devotedness took place under Czar-niecki, in the wars against the Cossacks.

Korsun, a borough, situated upon the Ros: it was founded by Stephen Batory, in 1581; it was here that Khmielnitski, with the Cossacks that revolted in 1648, surprised and defeated the Poles under Martin Kalinowski and Nicholas Pototski.

Zytomirz, with a population of 6,000, is at present the chief town of the government of Volhynia, after having formerly stood in the same relation with regard to the district of the palatinate of Kiow. There is

here a school, as also a small theatre, in which Polish pieces are sometimes acted.

Bialotcerkief, a borough, of 3,000 souls, with an immense castle, belonging to the wealthy family of Branetski.

Trehtymirow, a borough, which was formerly assigned by Stephen Batory as a residence for the attaman of the Cossacks.

Kaniof, upon the Dnieper, an ancient starosty that belonged to the nephew of King Stanislaus Poniatowski, who had an interview, in 1787, with Catherine II. in this town.

Berdyczef, with a population of 10,000, principally Jews. This town belonged, and probably still belongs to the illustrious family of the princes Radzivil; it is incorporated in the government of Volhynia. It is remarkable for the horse-fairs which are held there twice in a year. The most considerable is that which is held in the month of August; it lasts three or four weeks. It may be stated, without exaggeration, that there are often to be seen in the fair 100,000 horses of every kind, from all parts of Russia, Poland, Austria, and Turkey; and even at times, a few from Persia. In my boyhood, I twice visited this fair; and I remember having seen in it, a Persian stallion, as white as snow, with the exception of his mane and tail, which were as black as coal, exciting the admiration of all beholders; he was purchased at a high price. There are also many wild horses, which are sold at a ducat each; sometimes six shillings each.

Jahorlik, a borough, situated at the confluence of the Jahorlik and the Dniester. There was, here, a kind of obelisk, which marked the boundaries between Poland and Turkey, after the treaty of Karlowitz in 1699. With regard to the towns and boroughs situated in Transdnieperian Ukraine, and which belonged to the ancient palatinate of Kiow, before the treaty of Grzymultov, by which they were ceded, in 1686, to Muscovy, we will follow the Polish geographer, Swięcki (Sviantski.)

Hadziacz, upon the Pszczola, memorable for a treaty concluded here between Poland and the Cossacks, on the 16th of September, 1658.

Pultawa, upon the Vorskla, at the present day the chief town of the government of this name, and remarkably associated with the defeat of Charles XII. on the 8th of July, 1709.

Batourin, a town founded by Stephen Batory, king of Poland. In 1664, John Casimir here concentrated his formidable forces, ere he marched against the Cossacks, who then threw themselves into the arms of Moscow. Prince Menzikoff took this town by assault, in the time of Peter the Great, in 1709; and after having destroyed the magazines of provisions which Mazeppa had there amassed for the use of Charles XII., he put all the Cossacks to the sword, as accomplices of the latter, and set fire to the town.

Jeremiofka, formerly belonging to Prince Jeremiasz Wisniowiecki.

Pereaslaw, upon the Trubitza, a town formerly flourishing, which contained a college of Jesuits, founded by Zolkiewski, nephew of the renowned general of that name. The Cossacks under Khmielnitski pillaged it, committing every kind of excess.

Nizyn, on the Ostrza, which formerly separated the palatinate of Kiow from that of Czernichow, and the most eastern of the possessions of ancient Poland.

We now turn to the palatinate of Czernichow (pronounced Tchernikhof), the territories of which were at first governed by the Russic dukes descended from Vladimir the Great; but the grand duke of Lithuania, Gedymin, having annihilated their army on the banks of the Pierna, incorporated in his own states, in 1320, the towns and fortresses of Kiow, Bialogrod, Slepowrat, Kaniow, Czerkassy, Bransk, Pereaslaw, and the duchy of Severia, even to Putyvel, with all their dependencies. About the year 1394, Vladislaus Jagellon, king of Poland, confided to his brother Korybut, the government of Severia and of Czernichow; but Korybut, wishing to make himself independent of the grand duke of Lithuania, Vitold assembled an army, marched against him, gave him battle, routed him completely near Niedokodow, took possession of his states, made him prisoner with all his family, and sent him under a strong escort to Vilno; he then established starosties in this palatinate.

Subsequently, Korybut was restored to liberty by the intercession of the duke of Razan; and obtained

the castles of Bratslaw and Vinnista, in Volhynia, with all their dependencies. He then founded Zbaraz and Visnioviatz, whence the powerful families of princes Zbaraski and Visniovietski derived their origin. To the latter of these families belonged Michael Korybut Wisniowiecki, (pronounced Visniovietski) elected king of Poland, before Sobieski. These families have been long extinct. Towards the close of the reign of Casimir the Jagellon, in 1490, the dukes who governed Severia repaired to Vilno, to do homage to the king of Poland; but as one of the servants of the castle, in opening the gate, accidentally broke the finger of one of these dukes, this exasperated them so much that, without delay, they quitted Vilno, and threw themselves into the arms of Russia; becoming subject to that power, till the year 1634, when the victories of the Poles over the Czar Michael Federovitch, brought about the glorious peace of Wiazma. By the treaty then made, Smolensk, Severia, and Tchernigovia reverted to the power of the mother country, and were included in the palatinate of Czernichow, divided into three districts by the decision of the diet of 1635. They again, by the truce of Andruszow, fell, together with all the Transdnieperian territory, into the power of Russia.

The principal towns and boroughs of the ancient palatinate of Czernichow are:—Czernihow, a flourishing town upon the Desna, at the present day chief town of the government of the same name in Russia.—Novogrod Sieverski, formerly the residence of the dukes,

now the chief town of the district.—Bransk, a town memorable for the victory of the hetman Paç over the Russians. The illustrious Polish family of Tryzna were the possessors of estates here situated.—Konotop, memorable also for a celebrated victory gained by the Poles over the Russians in 1664.—Glińsk, anciently the property of the family of the princes Gliniski, one of whose members betrayed his country, and delivered up to the Russians, the fortress of Smolensk in 1548. This traitor afterwards met with condign punishment; his eyes were put out by the czar, and he perished in a dungeon. This family is extinct.—Putywell, an ancient fortress, adjacent to an immense forest, scarcely inferior in extent to that of Bialowieza.

In concluding this short geographical view of the Ukraine, it may be interesting to give a description of its inhabitants, particularly those of Polish Ukraine.

The population of the Ukraine is composed of several races, which have more or less amalgamated with each other. The Scythians, or Cossacks, were the first to seize upon the lands and to defend them; but their nomadic habits, added to a thirst of predatory excursions, did not allow them to set a just value on these lands, which lay, for the most part, in fallow, or altogether uncultivated. Poland, accordingly, established therein colonies of veteran soldiers, whose services seemed worthy of a recompense; and whose posterity constitute, at the present day, the nobility of the Ukraine. Besides the Polish and Russian nobles that have long

been established here amidst some Cossacks, several families of the latter, tired of their unsettled and turbulent life, built dwellings and settled here, forming a class of small proprietors, much more numerous in the Ukraine than in any other part of the ancient kingdom of Poland. The grandees have at all times formed and still form, as it were, a separate caste. There are also many Jews in the various towns. The huts of the common people are formed of argillaceous loam, mixed with the hair of beasts, and covered over with glaize, or fine clay. These huts are cleaner and more convenient than those of the Russians; and they are generally surrounded with fruit trees.

The costume of the common people in the Ukraine, resembles that of the Cossacks. Their hair is gathered up behind into a tuft; and they wear loose trousers. The young women wear a corset, fitting close round the waist: their long flowing tresses, hanging over their shoulders, are tricked out with variegated ribbons; and there is much grace and elegance in the general features of their dress.

The celebration of the nuptial rites has been, from time immemorial, accompanied with singular and peculiar usages. In other countries, probably without exception, the softer sex are wooed; in the Ukraine, on the contrary, they are the wooers. When a young female has conceived an attachment for a youth, she goes to the house of his parents, where she tells the young man, in the presence of his parents, that "the

kindness she beholds depicted in his countenance, and the good qualities of his heart, inspire her with the hope that he will prove a good husband, and under this impression she has come to beg he will accept her as his wife." If this initiatory announcement meets with hesitation or coldness on the part of the parents or their son, she sometimes renews her solicitation, either immediately or after the lapse of a few days; and then, if the young man assents to her proposal, the parents believe they would expose themselves to the wrath of heaven, should they withhold their compliance.

Then follow the ceremonies of the betrothal, which are more boisterous, more expensive, and of longer duration, than elsewhere. At the time of the sacred ceremony, the father of the intended inflicts upon her, during the administration of the holy sacrament, several slight blows with a kind of scourge, at the same time saying to her, "if to-morrow you obey not your husband, it will be he that will chastise you." On the day after the marriage, amid the prevailing mirth and festivity, attestations of the chastity of the new bride are attached to a board affixed to the chimney-piece; and, if her purity is arraigned, there is neither dancing, nor music, nor rejoicing, but a mournful silence is observed; and amid this gloom, several females, with tears streaming down their faces, and one of them bearing a dead crow, suddenly appear sobbing, and lamenting the lost innocence of the unhappy maiden;



and all the family prostrate themselves before the All-powerful, beseeching him, in his divine mercy, not to visit the sin of the daughter upon the whole family. The bride is then publicly beaten by her father or nearest male relative; receives a number of strokes corresponding to the years of her age, and must observe a rigid fast for a certain length of time. This custom is not, however, in all cases, rigidly observed. There was an exception to this custom, if it was proved, by respectable witnesses, that the girl was too basely treated, during the invasion of some barbarous horde; a visitation at all times frequent in the Ukraine.

The nuptial ceremonies for a widow, though they are remarkable and singular, do not seem worthy of especial notice here. A woman, guilty of infidelity to her husband, was formerly buried alive up to the neck in the ground, and condemned thus to perish by starvation. This law, which was in force among the ancient Scythians as well as in Russia, still remains valid in the Ukraine, although it is not strictly enforced.

The inhabitants of the Ukraine are generally well formed and robust. Their address is dignified, their speech concise, their gestures energetic; they have piercing eyes; in this respect resembling the inhabitants of the savannah or the desert. They are excellent equestrians, and faithful and devotedly attached to those who are kind to them; but they are implacable in their hatred, which is occasionally fatal to those on whom

it falls. Murders are sometimes committed, robbery very seldom. The common people speak the Russic language, which has greater affinity with the Polish than with the Russian; and they profess the schismatic Greco-Russian religion. The nobility are principally Polish.

The Ukraine is the native land of the princes Czetwertynski, Iablonowski, Lubomirski, Radziwill, Sanguszko; of Counts Bobr, Borkowski, Branicki, Brzozowski, Chodkiewicz, Esterhazy, Dunin, Czacki, Gizycki, Grocholski, Komar, Krasicki, Mniszech, Moniuszko, Moszynski, Morsztyn, Leduchowski, Olizar, Ostrowski Orłowski, Potocki, Potulicki Rzewuski, Sobanski, Stecki, Sulatycki, Szalayski, Ulatowski, Wit, as well as of the wealthy families of Abramowicz, Balaban, Baniewski, Choiecki, Czarkowski, Czaykowski, Dzierzek, Goszczynski, Grodecki, Glebocki, Haraburda, Iarmunda, Iarozynski, Turunski, Ilowicki, Ielec, Iwanicki, Iwanowski, Karsza, Kormanski, Mankowski, Orlinski, Oskierko, Prazmowski, Proskura, Ruzycki, Woynarowski, Wyszynski, Szaszkiewicz, Urork, Zubr; but more especially of the families of princes Iablonowski, Lubomirski, Sanguszko, and counts Branicki, Potocki, and Orłowski. All these nobles possess immense estates in the Ukraine, inhabiting magnificent castles, whose gilded towers and grey lichen-clad walls display their gigantic proportions amid the monotony of the Steppes; dazzling or surprising the traveller as they present themselves to his gaze, withdrawing his thoughts from the

present to the past, filling his mind with historical associations, and again leading it forward to an ideal contemplation of the future : of that future, which makes the heart beat with hope or anguish, and which, behind its impenetrable veil, conceals, perhaps, blood-red visions of slaughter, and the roseate dawn of restoration and glory. In these noble palace-like mansions, adorned with the splendour of the east and the elegance of Europe, ancient Polish hospitality has taken refuge ; that hospitality elsewhere unequalled, and which even the enthusiastic feelings of a true patriot could hardly define. The customs of the Polish nobles are too well-known to need description. The nobles of the Ukraine are stamped with a peculiar impress. They are unostentatious, though splendid ; refined, though blunt ; and to these contradictory qualities they unite bravery unsurpassed. In their castles, enchanted as it were, all that flatters the senses, all that cultivates the mind, all that strengthens the body, finds a dwelling ; and amid all this, there is a something grand, sombre, and wild, which forces itself upon the imagination, and rivets attention. The same noble personage who charms by his conversation upon Rousseau, Voltaire, or Byron ; or who expatiates upon liberty, will order a domestic to be punished with fifty blows for a trivial offence, will treat without much ceremony a female domestic ; and will kill a man in a duel for any slight breach of etiquette. No armies of Germany or France have ever waved their banners in the Ukraine ; it has never been in contact

with civilised Europe; and, hence, it has preserved its primitive character. All that locate themselves in the Ukraine, soon become essentially Ukrainian. The Ukrainians are generous, brave, friendly, faithful, neither cunning nor egotistical. When a stranger visits the country, every politeness is shown to him: if he be a person of consequence, he is invited to the different castles on his route, separate apartments are assigned to him, two servants are commanded to do his bidding, a Cossack attends upon him, three horses are at his orders; a purse of gold is placed in his drawer, and his wardrobe receives the attention of appointed female servants.

The youth of the Ukraine are not softened by luxury. The young Ukrainian, in addition to having received advantages of a high intellectual education, is taught to handle the sabre, to fire the pistol, to hunt wolves, and to tame a wild horse, a feat by no means easy of accomplishment. The Ukrainian ladies are taught music, painting, dancing, and several languages. They are at once graceful and beautiful; preserving their freshness to declining years, uniting to an eastern imagination a persuasive eloquence, and possessing manners amiable and distinguished, and are especially celebrated for the beauty of their eyes, for the most part dark, which attract and burn at the same time; and can almost guide a mis-directed traveller in a gloomy night. During ten years' residence in England, I have met only three ladies whose features bear decidedly an Ukrainian impress, namely,

Mrs. L. G. Remington, in London, whose father is a governor of a part of British India; Miss Fanny Brandling, at Newcastle; and the dashing and handsome maiden sister of the fair Mrs. Simpson, at the Grieves, the general favourite at Lancaster, known in the neighbourhood under the glorious denomination of a most excellent daughter.<sup>c</sup> There is in the Ukraine a singular custom prevalent during the carnival: whole families visit each other, prolonging their stay for several weeks. As many as ten or twelve of these families, or more, are thus often congregated under the same roof; while the vacant houses are left to the care of the domestics. This usage is confined to the upper class; and a sort of rotation is observed in the order of the visitors and the visited. Such a habit of life, although practised only at the season of the carnival, would be scarcely practicable in western Europe; it tends, however, greatly to develop the manners, the happiness, the sociability, the wit, and the eloquence of the Polish nobles; and renders them, without any exaggeration, the most courteous and attractive in the whole world. The Polish nobles are a singular race of men; outrageously jealous of any encroachment upon their class-privileges, they were yet often despotic towards those of humbler station: their lives were principally devoted to war, political strife, personal contests, and affairs of gallantry: they must consequently have acquired great skill in the successful management of such matters. These family meetings (termed *kuliki*), are sometimes productive of domestic

troubles and conjugal separations. They are more in vogue in the Ukraine and Polessia, than in Poland Proper.

The animals in the Ukraine are the same as those found throughout Poland, with few exceptions. The *rossomach*, which is occasionally seen in the Steppes, is a mixture between a wild cat and a wolf: it is to be found also in the forest of Bialowieza, but it is extremely rare. The pelican, the jet-black hare, and a kind of red teal, much smaller than the common teal, are met with. There is a kind of scorpion very dangerous, and a peculiar viper called *vrzetsionitsa* (*wrzecionica*), short, thick in the middle, small at the ends, whose bite is almost certain death; it is to be found in dry situations, and is of a slightly reddish colour; it is by no means common. An ordinary viper (commonly called adder) can be easily distinguished from a harmless serpent (whose colours vary according to the species, the age, and the season) by two characteristics never to be mistaken, namely, by dark spots in zig-zag on its back, and its brown belly; it is also considerably thicker and shorter than the common serpents, and likes more elevated ground, while the latter has always a belly of variegated colours, a yellow ring close to its head, and is to be found in more moist places: the female and young vipers are of a reddish colour. Sometimes a viper hangs on a low bush; generally speaking, open copses, dry heaths, newly-covered woodlands, sandy wastes, and southern banks of rivers, are the haunts of

the viper. Poisonous bites are more dangerous in summer than in the autumn, and can be cured by rubbing the fat of the viper or olive oil on the part wounded, over a chafing-dish of coals, and taking the oil internally. It is also necessary to purge the body, and to apply the remedy without delay. Much depends on the state of the blood. A bite in a blood-vessel is always very dangerous: the female viper is the more poisonous of the two. There is a large kind of spider which digs a round hole in the earth, and carries its young on its back; it is a sort of tarantula, and is dangerous. The children put some water in their holes, and thus oblige the spider to come out, and often kill it. There was, and there is still, probably, a wild goat, called *sumak*, whose horns are transparent and as white as snow; they are to be found in the higher range of the southern Steppes. According to Sarnicki, boa constrictors were occasionally to be met with in the south-eastern part of the Ukraine. The ptarmigan is very common, and the buzzard the largest bird after the turkey: the latter is extremely shy, of a greyish colour, have long feet, and must run at least thirty yards before it can rise. They are often caught by greyhounds.

The music of the Ukraine is strikingly peculiar. Those wondrous melodies, called *dumki*, are characterised by their touching harmony; they are at once Ossianic, oriental, plaintive, and martial. They abound in the loftiest sentiments, and are interwreathed with

eastern imagery. Now the fiercest emotion, the wild tornado of the soul, rushes through them; now the dark eyes of some love-lorn maiden are the theme of their enthralling strains. They always terminate with some sad catastrophe, and happy love finds no refuge in their touching stanzas. The popular ditties of the Ukraine form a pleasing and enrapturing minstrelsy. Very many of them are not set to music. In others, the tide of song rolls gently on. At times, the harmonious lay rises, through a climax of exaltation, from the softness of the breeze, to the dirge-like wailings of the blast, and the roar of the hurricane; and bloodshed, revenge, and conflagration glide through the flowing cadence; the neighings of the steed, the howling of the wolves, the whizzing of arrows, the pattering of musketry, the clash of arms, the ill-boding cries of the vulture, or the croakings of the raven, the shouts of victory, the groans of the dying, despair, rage, and laughter, gush forth in their imitative harmony. The songs of the Ukraine are its history. Its wars, its triumphs, its defeats, its sorrows, are imaged forth and chronicled as it were in these sublime and spirit-stirring rhapsodies. One might say, as is said of Ariel's music in the immortal Shakspeare, "This is no mortal business, nor no sound that the earth owes."

The fragments of the Ukrainian poetry charm and attract by their tenderness and pathos, by the sympathies they awaken, and by thoughts which a different race would in vain essay to express. Among the gems



of this delightful art, we may notice "Maria," by Malczewski; "The Castle of Kaniöv" (Zamek Kaniowski), by Goszczynski, written in the Polish language. Both have a dark, essentially Ukrainian impress; both describe love, murder, despair, and revenge; both hint at the terrible pride of the Polish oligarchy; both dig a hole into the coal-pit of human passion; both are founded on facts. Both these effusions of genius unfold the beauty, the richness, and the harmony of the Polish language. These strange poems seem to be twin sisters, and both unaccountably linked with the other world. The latter is completely in Byron's fashion, and by no means inferior to any production of that celebrated poet. But it is local, and cannot be judged by any translation. There are also several other Ukrainian writers, namely, Bohdan Zalewski, Michel Czaykowski (nephew of Colonel Rozycki), Grabowski, the two brothers Budzynski, Olizarowski, and Alexander Ilowicki.<sup>d</sup> The works of the latter are written in a pure and pleasing style, while some of the passages claim, by their ideality and wonderful power of description, no ordinary place in Polish literature.—(A. Ilowicki having felt an unfortunate passion for the beautiful Countess Komar, took holy orders, and is in great favour with the present Pope, who is certainly no ordinary man, and would have assured the welfare of Italy had his counsels been followed).—Zalewski is well known for his poetry in Poland. Michel Czaykowski and Grabowski are celebrated novelists: all their Polish

works are exclusively devoted to the Ukraine, and, in point of the knowledge of the human heart and the description of strong passion, are undoubtedly superior to Sir Walter Scott: but as Poland has not, at present, political existence, their works cannot be well appreciated. Czaykowski took the Cossacks under his special protection, and intends to Polonise them, a thing by no means impossible. I am intimately acquainted with him; he is an extraordinary man, and speaks several languages: he is a great writer, an able politician, an excellent officer in the field, an accomplished gentleman: he is well acquainted with the whole machinery of the Russian government, is now abroad, and may be very useful to his country under proper circumstances; but having never been in England, he is not well aware of her gigantic powers. During five years I had daily intercourse with him at Paris. The two brothers, Budzynski have translated "Goethe" into Polish. Olizarowski has written some poems, and often writes ballads which please Prince Czartoryski.

Malczewski is dead.\* Czaykowski, the two brothers Budzynski, Goszczynski, are political emigrants. There is also an Ukrainian lady, Miss Korzeniowska, so fond of science, that whenever she was invited to a party, she always carried with her a pencil for taking notes of any thing worthy to be noticed. It is impossible to describe the stock of information which this bride of science possesses, who is known in the literary world for her wonderful productions. She is

a sort of Polish Miss Agnes Strickland, and her style resembles that of the Marchioness of Londonderry in her ladyship's poetical description of Moscow.

The legends of the Ukraine, which form the nucleus of the *dumki* airs, are very numerous. These legends have no parallel in any other part of the civilized or barbarous world. Some of them evidently refer to the wars of Mithridates with the Romans, others to more modern eras. In these legends figure enchantresses, prophetesses, seers, furies, good and evil genii, demons of every kind, females in tears, drowning women, invasions, massacres, famine, and pestilence. Some of them make obvious reference to the discovery of America; others plunge into the Scandinavian mythology, in union with the vestiges of the heathenism of the ancient Lithuanians, mingled with the rites of the East and with Christianity. These legends, too, may be sometimes explained by the Greek colonies, the wars of the Poles under the two Boleslaus; the conquests of the grand dukes of Lithuania; the invasion of the Tatars; and other events of history. In one of them are some passages, word for word, to be found in Shakspere's "Hamlet." In another, a floating island in Keswick lake is so well and so precisely described, that no one can possibly doubt its reference to that island. It has, however, a singular tale attached to it. It is extremely difficult to trace the manner in which these two Ukrainian legends became so strangely associated with English literature and scenery.

The superstitions of the Ukraine are numerous. The great enemy of mankind is sometimes called *Didko*, sometimes *Biss*, sometimes *Satan*, sometimes *Czort*. He is represented now under the form of a black dog ; now of a three-horned bull ; now of a he-goat ; now of a boy in a German dress,—this latter is not considered to be very malignant or dangerous,—he smokes tobacco, regales himself with cream, visits the ladies, taking the features and assuming the dress and manners of their husbands. The one in the form of a black dog is most dreaded ; he can be exorcised only by holy water and fervent prayers ; and when he yields, the hurricane takes place, which dances *the Cossack* upon the Steppes. The apparition of a tall female, arrayed in white, with her arms folded, mourning and wailing on the skirts of the forest, forebodes pestilence. The repeated hootings of the owl are considered to prognosticate a corresponding number of deaths in the village during the space of three years. The appearance of a beautiful maiden, Topielitza, weeping and sobbing, on the banks of rivers or the margins of lakes, with her head hanging down, and dishevelled hair, represents the drowned unhappy one, who has murdered her illegitimate child ; and is destined, by way of penitence, to walk upon the marsh-plants, to induce the young of the opposite sex to come in pursuit of her, and perish in the waters, until some one succeeds in saving an infant from death by drowning. A woman with a beard, Czarownica, (pronounced Tcharovnitsa), is looked upon

as a sorceress, and is accounted extremely dangerous. Such were sometimes burned.

There prevailed also very singular notions and customs in regard to a being they called Pachole (pronounced Pakholé), which comes from the Polish word *Pacholek*, signifying a mysterious orphan who knows not his parents, and who is left alone and without protection in the wide world; and who appears to be the fruit of an ill-assorted marriage of a lady of quality with a husband of low grade. This orphan, without home or country or relatives, wandered about in quest of some one who might give him a resting-place, adopt him, and by acts of kindness banish from his mind the recollections of the miseries he had undergone: he generally appeared about eleven to eighteen years of age, and was accompanied by a large dog. This species of orphan boy enjoyed great privileges in the Ukraine, and received the especial protection of the ladies, of the nuns, and above all of widows, who sometimes espoused them. They were accustomed to sing plaintive songs by moonlight, under the window of some love-lorn widow. After the *refrain* at the conclusion of each stanza, the dog set up a howl, and the following dialogue ensued:

*Widow.* Who is singing there?—*Boy.* A Pacholé, a Pacholé.

*Widow.* What is your name?—*Boy.* I have no name.

*Widow.* Where do your parents live?—*Boy.* I have no parents.

*Widow.* Where are your brother and sister, your cousins?—*Boy.* I have none.

*Widow.* Where do you live?—*Boy.* I have no home; the wild Steppe is my bed, the heaven my covering; but perhaps I shall find a mother, or a kind female friend who will guard me from hunger, cold, and misery; who will give me a cool shelter in summer, a warm one in winter, and will take care of my dog, that he become not the prey of wolves.

*Widow.* Present yourself at the great gate of my abode, in presence of two witnesses; I will adopt you, you shall be my son. (He was accordingly adopted, and inherited her possessions; nor was it in the power of any one to entirely disinherit him).

If the widow replied to the boy, "Your voice pleases me; come in and be mine, we will be united; such is the will of God," then they were married, and the marriage was considered legal, if the Pacholé had attained his seventeenth year. If the widow responded, "Knock at the gate, you shall receive my hospitality, as my guest you shall want for nothing;" then he knocked accordingly, and came under the hospitable roof.

This custom, unique and strange as it appears, prevailed in the Ukraine with greater or less modifications, and it may easily be accounted for. Wars continually raged in the Ukraine in ancient times; the Zaporoguians carried off the children in their predatory and warlike excursions; these children were left to wander, when

their captors might have perished by the sword. Likewise, many children might have fled into the Ukraine when the Tatars had butchered their parents; these children received hospitality in the villages, and it would have been thought a crime to ill-treat them. The Cossack women also, during the long absence of their husbands, often adopted such orphans. Hence is derived most certainly the Polish proverb, "Happy as a Pacholé with a Ukrainian widow," (*Szczesliwy iak na Ukrainie pacholek u wdowy.*)

The manner of drinking, amongst the Ukrainian people, with each other, strongly resembles the usages known on such occasions in England. A man who intends to drink a glass of brandy with another, takes a glass, rises, bows to him, and when the bow is returned he makes a speech and drinks his health, while the others are standing. His friends return the compliment, and all the guests follow in rotation with speeches, in which they all felicitate themselves till they lose their senses and become inebriated. (It is called *byczek.*)

Land in the Ukraine has greatly increased in value since the foundation of the port of Odessa; but as the roads are bad, and there is not any railroad yet completed, this port has not given that extension which it would otherwise have given to the trade of this province. The roads of the Ukraine, from the nature of the soil, are bad only during the rains of spring and latter autumn; at other seasons they are most excellent. The nobility of the Ukraine lately

proposed to the Russian government to construct at their own expense, some good common roads, as well as railroads to the Black Sea for facilitating the export of grain; but this project incurred the displeasure of the Emperor Nicholas, and it was abandoned. There exists in the Ukraine a superstitious belief that, according to the prophecy of Vernyhora, the principal attack upon Russia will be made by the Ukraine, and that Poland will be restored by the Ukraine. The Russian government appears by no means disposed to favour any undertaking which might augment too much the revenues of the Ukrainian nobles, facilitate their communication, and give them access to the Black Sea, whence in case of war they may derive resources and reinforcements.

If the lover of his country should perchance stray among the Steppes of the Ukraine, when the sun casts its setting glories over the plains, wherein the bones of ancient warriors have become dust, and drunk of Poland's blood; the Ukraine will present to his imagination an indefinable something between love and hatred, between civilisation and barbarism, between the past and the future, between the darkness of night and the brightness of day, between poetical fiction and reality, between Europe and Asia, between modern and ancient days; the nations whose names have perished; the nations whom tradition has preserved,—the Scythians, the Huns, the hordes of Ghengiskan, of Tamerlane, those of the Grand Dukes of Lithuania, the Russic chieftains, the



Turks, the Poles, the Cossacks, the Swedes, the Russians,—will pass before his eyes as a phantasmagoria on this arena of blood, on which Poland repelled during several ages the invasions of the barbarians, which were especially directed against civilised Europe.

That Poland now, alas ! lies prostrate, bathed in her tears and moaning in the dust. Shall she perish ? No, she shall yet rise again. I see the Pole, the Cossack, and the Mahometan in a friendly embrace. I see a dazzling light in the west and in the east. I see a splendid cradle drawing forth from her imaginary tomb.

Having depicted the country of the Steppes, let us now glance at the present state of Europe. Napoleon said, “ Dans cinquante ans d’ici, toute l’Europe sera libre, ou Cosaque,” i. e., “ every thing would depend on Poland.” Should Russia sincerely attach Poland to herself—not by the subjugating sword, but by genuine acts of kindness, restoring to Poland its complete independence, then might these two great nations be eternally reconciled, and Russia thereby enabled to become indeed almost “ mistress of Europe,” but never otherwise. As, however, no such reconciliation is probable, and as, sooner or later, war between Russia and western Europe, that is, between despotism and liberty, must burst forth,—a war which will shake the most remote parts of the globe—it is incumbent on us to expose the weak point of Russia, and convince the reader, by facts, that Russia is really far weaker than other nations. Moreover, we must

demonstrate that, in the event of war with Russia, if proper means are taken to strike at her vital point, she must be vanquished, and repulsed behind the Dzvina and the Dnieper within one year; but if, on the contrary, she is allowed to concentrate her whole strength, if she be not attacked with wisdom and vigour, she may prove the victor; may, if aided by Austria, swallow up the Turkish empire; may pour her barbarous hordes in the west, and may inflict terrible mischief on the whole of Europe (France alone excepted) for centuries. If a sportsman, when confronted by a tiger, levels his gun at its paw or leg, he may wound slightly that tiger and himself perish; if, on the contrary, he aims at the heart, the animal's terrific growl of anguish will testify that the shot has taken effect; and, without peril to himself, the sportsman may slay the ferocious beast. So if a ravenous wolf is prowling near a farm, it is the farmer's duty for the safety of his herd to maim or kill it. This comparison is, to a great extent, correct as respects Russia and her neighbour nations. Russia is specially dangerous, not to France, but to Germany, Austria, Turkey, and even England. It is difficult to conceive that any German army could victoriously contest in a pitched battle with a Russian army. The latter, composed of men of sterner stuff, more accustomed to hardship, to the rules of iron discipline, possessing the advantage of unity of command, longing for pillage and rapine, and its movements protected by swarms of Cossacks, must have ultimately a decided advantage over the former; the

more so, that while Germany is vulnerable the whole year, Russia is scarcely vulnerable for six months. For checking at once such a calamity, at any time pregnant with danger to civilized Europe, there are only two modes. One consists in having an immense standing army, in magnitude double that of Russia, which would necessarily entail increased taxes, and swallow more gold than Cræsus ever possessed ; and the other mode presents itself in rendering Poland sincere assistance in regaining her independence, to dissolve the principal aggressive resources of Russia, and to weaken in every direction that power. The second remedy is, in every respect less troublesome, and appears far more certain than the first. What is Russia? It is rather a government than a nation ; a government, whose first edition reverts to the time of Ivan the Cruel, and its second edition Peter the Great and the debaucheries of Catherine II. It is a government which, from the Gulf of Finland to the Chinese boundary ; from the Black and the Caspian to the White Sea ; from the Pacific to the Baltic ; exists only by rapine, plunder, oppression, and systematic demoralization. Russia is continually augmenting her armies ; increasing her large navy (which costs her immense sums, though she has no colonies) ; intriguing in all parts of the world ; undermining some years ago the British power in India ; watching the movements of Turkey, almost as a spider watches the movements of a fly ; menacing the whole of Germany with invasion ;

speaking of religion and God, yet scorning and persecuting every creed which is not of Greek persuasion; spreading her propaganda of panslavism, which visibly disorganises, under various colours and different shades, the vital parts of Turkey and several other states. Further, bribing swarms of authors and periodicals in foreign countries, she prostitutes with the utmost impudence, the words of justice, disinterestedness, and virtue, and dares to speak of her pacific intention; because she was suddenly stopped in her aggressive career by the magic and all powerful word Poland! Happily, Russia has in herself the germ of her own destruction. There is no law, no liberty of the press, no personal security in Russia. All the civilians, and the army, are so badly paid that, according to approximative calculations, they cannot subsist more than two months in the year out of their pay, and, therefore, during the remaining ten months they must exist by robbery. Plundering the people, and compelled to maintain their own superiors, they let loose the flood-gates of immorality, and excite general hatred or contempt to the government. In short, they form one cancer of corruption, and promote insurrection, the more so that the Russian nobles may be considered as the very heart of despotism. There being almost no control over them, they are at times more oppressive than the czar himself, and the Russian people, therefore, are subjected, not to one but a whole swarm of tyrants. A Russian noble is sole master and sovereign of his serf;

he can flog him at any time, and as brutally as he pleases; he can choose any female that his unbridled lust may desire; he can transport his serf under any pretext to Siberia; he can sell his serf, or tax his labour to the uttermost, as it may suit his convenience or rapacity; and woe to a serf who presumes to murmur against the oppression of his lord. Such a frightful and artificial state of society cannot possibly exist in the present state of Europe without endangering the whole structure of the Russian empire, the more so, that a regular democratic element exists among the Cossacks and other semi-civilized hordes nominally subjected to Russia. The historical reminiscences given in previous chapters, testify that the Cossacks have never been completely reduced under the Muscovite sway. Centuries of Russian domination has utterly failed in assimilating the Cossack to the Russian; and Cossack hostility to Russia, like the sacred fire of the ancient Persians, has never been extinguished. Thus, at the very commencement of the Russian supremacy in the Ukraine, we behold Stenko Razin—an obscure Cossack, previously unknown, even by name, to his tribe—exciting a formidable insurrection against Russia. Throughout the desperate war waged by Stenko Razin, he did not receive the slightest aid, or even countenance, from any foreign power, yet his self-energy alone enabled him to rally 200,000 men round the standard of revolt. He vanquished Russian army after army; subjugated the kingdom of Astrakan; checked Russian influence in

Persia ; marched upon Moscow itself ; and, in brief, made Russia tremble to her very foundation. Nay, had not Stenko Razin been betrayed into the hands of his enemies, he would, most assuredly have overthrown the Romanow dynasty, and seated himself on the Muscovite throne. A century after this, we behold the Cossack, Pugatchef, at the head of innumerable barbarous hordes, who gave him constant proofs of their devotion even under the most unfavourable circumstances. Five times repulsed, yet five times he renewed the contest. During the terrific struggle he routed several well organised Russian armies, conquered Kasan, and the whole country between the Ural Mountains and the Volga, and threatened Moscow itself with destruction ! What, then, is to be done ? Why, to attack Russia by press and insurrections, and to raise against her those very barbarian hordes with which she threatens Western Europe ; to re-establish the independence of Poland ; to restore to Sweden and Germany their former provinces ; to liberate the Russian serfs ; to excite an insurrection in the military colonies, where rebellion has already twice broken out ; to give to the Cossacks, to the Mahometans, to the Mato Russes, to the Kirghise, to the Circassians, and the other large tribes now under Russian domination, kings, who may protect their own nationalities, establish regular governments, and erect their countries into separate states. It is deserving of note, that Colonel Dorigni, a foreign re-

fugee in the Russian service, proposed to the French cabinet during the seven years' war, to raise 300,000 Kherghes and Tcheramess against Russia, and he was confident of the success of such a raising. Napoleon, gigantic genius as he was, yet knew not where to strike a real blow on Russia. If instead of sending his armies into Russia, he had but adopted the line of policy here suggested, with proper care and activity he would easily have humbled Russia. Russia was then, as I have proved it now to be, weaker internally than any other European state, in which such rebellions as those above referred to have never been known, and, indeed, are impossible. In fact, a conspiracy of some Russian colonels can, at any time, shake the whole Russian empire; especially in the military colonies.

It may be remarked that the weakness of any government is always in proportion to the number of spies employed by that government; and in no country are they so numerous as in Russia. However, the secret police, so formidable in Russia, have failed in checking the frequent conspiracies against the government—conspiracies that may yet prove successful. I will but add, that every attack on Russia from the Pacific, or from the regions of the White, Caspian, Black, and Baltic seas, is fraught with danger to her.

In conclusion, I may remark that although the present state of Germany, and of Europe generally clearly proves that communism or socialism is nowhere in fashion on the continent (and thanks to General

Cavaignac, is almost extirpated in France); yet, at the same time, the progress of despotism—such as that of Russia—is quite out of the question. A strong reaction against ultra-democratic principles is visible, and their fallacy clearly proved; but a new era of European reasonable liberty is to be established on the basis of a real friendship between England and France. England has no other desire than to behold France great and powerful, and never intended to interfere in her internal affairs. Lamartine testified himself a wise politician as respects England, since he foresaw well the consequence that might spring out of an unjustifiable interference with the threatened Irish insurrection. To quote from my work “The Poles in the Seventeenth Century,” I can but exclaim, “Let then France and England unite heart and hand; let them extinguish every spark of petty rivalry. Not then, would Russia raise her despotic head, but these two nations might exercise a salutary influence over the civilized world. Cherished and adored by the whole human race, they might crush oppression, annihilate tyranny, and restore to their former integrity the nation that has been dismembered, and, for a time, enslaved!”

See Clarke, Beauplan, and Lesur, *Description de l'Ukraine*, Malte Brun, Chodzko, Siviecki, Staszyc Count Lewis Plater, Bzonzynski Sarnicki, &c. &c.



## NOTES.

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### CHAPTER I.—THE COSSACKS OF THE UKRAINE.

Page 3. (a).—*Kazachia Orda* was a tribe known in the Caucasus long before the word Kozak was known in Europe. Some writers say, that Schah Matey, the Tatar khan of the Wolga, bound by a treaty made with John Albert, king of Poland, to make war with the khan of the Crimea, had a brother of the name of *Kosak*, whom he sent to the Nogay Tatars for reinforcements, and that that brother, having a whole tribe of Tatars under his command, gave the name of Kosak to the whole Kosak nation, in whose territory the conflicts between the two Tatar chiefs were raging. Others assert, that the name is derived from the Polish word *Koza*, which means a goat, in order to give an idea of the swiftness of the Cossacks. Sherer, in the *Annals of Lesser Russia*, asserts, that they derive their name from a slip of land called Kossa (a scythe). The Poles and the Russians mean by the word *Kosak*, a brigand lightly armed. See Cromer, p. 452; Lesur, pp. 185, 186.

Page 3. (b). Such is the version of Lesur, but he contradicts himself visibly respecting the Cossacks of the Ukraine; and we would rather be inclined to follow the opinion of Cromer, and other Polish historians, who assigned the existence of the Cossacks to the ninth century.

Page 6. (c).—See Cromer, Sherer, and other historians, who mention that the militia of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania, which, after the annexation of the Ukraine to Poland, passed completely under the dominion of the Polish crown, was dressed, in the reign of the Polish

king Kazimir Jagellon in English grey woollen-cloth. The above-mentioned militia were no other men but Cossacks.

Page 12. (*d*).—See Lesur, Beauplan, about the inhabitants of the Ukraine.

Page 13. The Kings of Poland were the possessors of certain lands belonging to the crown, which they were obliged to give to the Polish nobles, who signalised themselves in war, or in council, or who, on other occasions, might have deserved well of their country. These lands varied in value, according to the rank and merits of those to whom they were assigned. They were not given in perpetuity, but for life, sometimes for two or three generations, but very seldom as a heritage. The widows very often continued in possession of these estates till the time of their death, and none but nobles could receive them. They were called in Polish *Starostwa*. The title of Starosta was enjoyed by the possessor of them, and his consort was entitled *Staroscina*; the Starosta's son was called Staroscic, and the Starosta's daughter *Staroscianka*, and the name of the estate or village was often adjoined to the title. The Starosta enjoyed a certain authority on their estates, especially during the *interregnum*. There were two sorts of Starosta, those who enjoyed the magistracy on their estates, and those who did not enjoy the same privilege; yet it is to be remarked, that when a Polish noble had nine sons, six of which were in the army, he received an estate of the government and was Starosta.

Page 14. (*e*).—See Lesur sur les Kosaques; Beauplan's Description de l'Ukraine.

Page 20. (*f*).—*Czayki* (pronounced *tchaiqui*), means, in Polish, the sewicks. These boats were so called on account of their lightness.

Page 21. (*g*).—The Polish Cossacks, according to Beauplan, used in their piratical expeditions a kind of cask, which contained a quantity of fresh water, so well preserved that it never putrified, and acquired at sea, even with the length of time, a better taste. The secret of preserving sweet water from putrefaction—a secret which would be of the greatest importance in navigation—was never disclosed by the Cossacks. Several historians mention it. It seems now to be completely lost.

Page 29. (*h*).—According to Lesur, p. 321, Czaplinski, after ravishing the lady of Khmielnitski on the dead body of her son, massacred her, put Khmielnitski in prison, and burned his house. Lesur, however, who wrote his History of the Cossacks in 1813 and 1814, dwells often on all things unfavourable to Poland. He mentions that the Cossack

chief, Nalevayko, vanquished and taken prisoner by the celebrated Polish chieftain Zulkiewski, in 1598, was publicly burned at Warsaw, in a copper bull made on purpose ; when it is a well known fact, which I minutely investigated, that nothing of the kind ever happened in Poland. Nalevayko was beheaded. Some authors assert that Czaplinski ill-treated Khmielnitski, burned his house, put him in prison, and lived publicly with his wife.

Page 56. (i).—It is a singular fact, that a real democracy does not exist anywhere but among the Cossacks. How then the democratic element can harmonize with the Russian government and the Russian aristocracy, the very heart of despotism, and the most decided element of oppression and tyranny, it is difficult to account. These two contrary elements, which have already had some collision, cannot ultimately harmonize, and must sooner or later fight to the death.

#### CHAPTER II.—REBELLION OF STENKO RAZIN.

Page 65. (a).—A young Circassian, Prince *Pereghorski*, previously taken prisoner by Stenko Razin, was obliged, by the orders of the latter, to assume the character of the czarewicz, in the bark covered with red velvet ; in that covered with black velvet, another young man represented Nickon, the disgraced patriarch. The above named Prince *Pereghorski* was pardoned and kindly treated by the Czar Alexy, as it was undoubtedly proved that the former was compelled to do so under the fear of a violent death. See relation of the Rebellion of Stenko Razin.

Page 69. (b).—To this time, this name, the Suburb of Hell, still exists, according to the author of the relation of the Rebellion of Stenko Razin.

#### CHAPTER III.—THE ZAPOROGUES.

Page 74. (a).—Suppressed.

Page 77. List of the Attamans Koshovy of the Polish Ukrainian Cossacks, nominated by the kings of Poland, or approved by them, till the defection of Khmielnitski :—1, Pzeclaw Lanckoronski (pronounced *Pshetzlaf Landskorongski*), called also Pazetzlav Lantski Bronski, first chief attaman of the Polish Cossacks, nominated in 1506 by Sigismund I. ; 2, Ostaphy Daszkiewicz (pronounced *Dashkievitch*) ; 3, Rozynski (pronounced *Rojinski*) ; 4, Wezyk Chelmicki (pronounced *Van jick Khelmitski*) ; 5, Twerkoski (pronounced *Tferkoski*) ; 6, Bohdanko Rozynski (*Rojinski*) ; 7, Podhowa (*Podkova*), means in Polish a horse

shoe ; 8, Szah (*Sshagh*) ; 9, Skalozup (*Skalozoop*) ; 10, Kosemski (*Kosamski*) ; 11, Nalevayko (*Nalavaiko*) ; 12, Piotr Konasewicz Sahaydaczny (*Peter Konasavitch Saghaydatchny*) ; 13, Yaras (*Yaras*) ; 14, Saavkanof-Perewieska (*Savakanof-Paraviaska*) ; 15, Pawluk (*Pavlook*) ; 16, Ostranica (*Ostranitza*) ; 17, Poltora-Kozuch (*Poltora-Kojoogh*) ; 18, Buluk (*Boolook*) ; 19, Sinevoy Bohdan Khmielnicki (*Sinavoi Boghdan Khmielnitski*). Among the above-mentioned Polish Cossack chiefs, or attamans, Ostafy Daszkiewicz, Twerkowski, Boghdanko Rozynski, Shah, Nalevayko, Sahaydaczny, and Khmielnitski, were the most celebrated. After the defection of Khmielnitzki to Russia, in 1654, the Cossack chiefs in Russia were, and are to this time designated under the title of Hetmans, a title borrowed from Poland, corresponding in meaning to the general-in-chief, and which lasted in Poland till the partition of the latter country.

After the defection of Khmielnitzki, as there were continual wars between Russia and Poland respecting the Cossacks, and as the Zaporogues formed a distinct community, though there were more attamans Koshovy nominated by the kings of Poland, yet as the Cossacks of the Ukraine alternately acknowledged the supremacy of Poland, Russia, and Turkey, it is extremely difficult to trace the regular succession of their attamans.

Page 80. (b).—Suppressed.

Page 82. (c).—Colonel Lagowski, who spent part of his life in the Ukraine, and was a living dictionary of the Russic lands, mentioned, with many other persons, that the Zaporogues, leading several years a wild life on the islands of the Dnieper, acquired sometimes, if young, a secret *love charm* for the ladies, which, if once known by them, increased their attachment to a sort of phrenzy for those who possessed it. The colonel alluded to, who gave himself the trouble of describing this charm, says, that it was often transmitted from the father to the son ; that the use of the waters of the Dnieper near the cataracts, and the river Boh, especially at the time when a kind of red flower is blooming on the Steppes,—a flower whose aromatic scent has been known to invigorate the human frame,—produced occasionally such a charm. Be this as it may, I have heard several times of that charm, and a gentleman well-known in Volhynia and the Ukraine, of the name of Iwanicki (pronounced Ivanitski), probably still alive, has been known to possess undoubtedly such a charm.

Page 85. (d).—Some authors assert that the *Lissowczyki*, a kind of light cavalry, which performed extraordinary feats of valour abroad

and in Poland, during the reign of Sigismund III., were recruited among the Zaporogues : they were almost all killed on the field of battle.

#### CHAPTER IV.—MAZEPPA.

Page 92. (a).—Not all things in Mazeppa's early life are explained. We never could find any authentic information on Mazeppa's revenge, which is mentioned in Byron's work.

#### CHAPTER V.—ZELEZNIAK.

Page 106. (a).—*Schismatic*. The Russians of the Greek church not united, were so called because they seceded from the metropolitan of Constantinople and acknowledged the czar as their patriarch. By the Synod of *Brzesc Litewski*, in 1594, under the reign of Sigismund III., King of Poland, a voluntary union between the Polish subjects of the Greek Church and the Roman Catholic, was partly accomplished, by which the Polish Unitarians acknowledged the supremacy of the Pope, retained however the Slavonian language in the celebration of divine service, and were not subjected to the inconveniences of celibacy ; they were, however, not allowed to marry more than once, and not with a widow, and were obliged to shave their beards. The metropolitan of Kiow, with several Bishops, publicly assented to that union with great pomp. This wise and important political event happened under the papacy of Clement VIII., and was accomplished chiefly by the exertions of Adam Pociej, Bishop of Vladimir, and Terlecki, Bishop of Lutzk. From that time the followers of that creed were called *Unici*, Unitarians, or Unistes ; sometimes Greek Catholics. Six millions of them were formerly under the Polish domination. They were always subjected to annoyances and persecutions by the Russian Government, especially during the present reign. The Emperor Nicholas ordered their suppression. The celebrated nun, Svientoslawska, (the Abbess of Minsk), whose name was so familiar to the British and French newspapers not long since, is of that creed. From two hundred Greek Catholic nuns, above one hundred and eighty died in torments, which are too shocking to be mentioned. In vain the Russian Ambassador attempted to contradict these cruelties, they were corroborated and satisfactorily proved. The apostate villain, who became, by sordid and selfish motives, the infamous and principal tormentor of the nuns of Minsk, came to an untimely end. He did even terrible harm to the Emperor Nicholas.

and increased his unpopularity everywhere. In spite of all this, there are some miserable authors connected with Petersburg, who dare to mention, for sordid motives, under the beards of the Poles in a foreign country, things contrary to historical facts and their own conviction. They preach, indirectly, the Greek creed in Poland, and other ideas tending to increase visibly the Russian power ; in doing so, the above authors will injure only their open protectors, but not the sacred cause of Poland. Two millions of Unistes are yet to be found in Gallicia. It is to be remarked that two descendants, in direct line, from the illustrious families of Pocięy and Terlecki, are among the Polish emigrants. The worthy Count Pocięy is at Paris, and John Terlecki (pronounced Terletski) in London. The latter, for years, was copying in the British archives, documents connected with Polish history. He went recently to Posen, believing in the probability of a war with Russia, and having received a wound, came back to England and resumed his laudable occupation. He is a native of the same province as myself, and though we may differ in opinion on some branches of Polish politics, I consider his conduct with me, as well as with everyone who knows him well, perfectly in accordance with an honourable man. Among the real Polish emigrants in England, no one possesses more superior knowledge of history and geography than Baszczewicz, (pronounced Bashtchevitch) : more fortunate than most other Poles, he formed an accidental acquaintance with an influential clergyman, who procured him a situation, with a fixed salary, at Leamington, where he became professor of universal history. Sheltered completely from want, and being of a quiet disposition, he devoted his time to sedentary occupation and study, and acquired a stock of information difficult to describe. His pupils presented him with a splendid watch as a testimonial of their good wishes and regard. It is a well-known fact, that the protestant clergy, at all times liberal and eager in promoting knowledge, were the tried and most valuable friends of the Poles.

A rather curious usage exists among the Unistes. The consecration of their respective churches is annually commemorated by a kind of *fete* called *praznik*. This is attended by the neighbouring clergy and their families, as also by the proprietor of the village (who is mostly the owner of the presentation) with other guests. The reunion lasts the whole day, and the guests are regaled with various delicacies, including a sort of cake (*kolduny*), 'strongly resembling the English plum-pudding. In the evening a peculiar dance, accompanied by

singing, takes place. It is called *poduszeczka* (pronounced *podoos-chetchka*), and may be thus described. A circle of gentlemen and ladies is formed, with a lady or gentleman in the centre. The song and dance terminated, the centre performer flings a handkerchief to one of the other sex, bestowing at the same time a kiss upon the party so selected. The receiver of the kiss then takes his or her place in the centre, dancing and singing are resumed, concluding, as before, with the flinging of the handkerchief and kiss, and so on, until the entire company have participated in the "fun." A yet more singular custom winds up the festivities of the day. The number of guests precluding the accommodation of beds, their hosts endeavour to obviate that difficulty by strewing hay on the floor, with a covering of carpets and blankets, upon which all are necessitated to repose for the night. But previous to preparing this "shake-down," (as it would be designated in England), the company are numbered, the gentlemen's numbers being placed in one purse, and the ladies' numbers in another. The youngest boy and girl are then called in, and they draw the numbers, by way of lottery, until each lady is provided with a "sleeping partner" of the other sex. So strictly is this adhered to, that even husbands and wives, or brothers and sisters, are forbidden to sleep close to each other, if not favoured by the lottery—in which, as a matter of course, some trickery occasionally prevails. It may be assumed that this strange mingling of the sexes sometimes leads to unwarrantable liberties. However, this is not of frequent occurrence, as they endeavour, as far as possible, to guard against such an abuse by forbidding any one from disrobing, and by having a lamp burning, throughout the night, in the corner of the adjacent chamber. Besides, the guests are, generally speaking, sufficiently numerous to be a mutual check upon indulgence in any impropriety. In my youth I personally assisted at several such reunions on the estates of my late maternal uncle, Mr. Gabryel Orzeszko. I recollect that on one occasion a jealous-minded young clergyman, the husband of a beautiful woman,—who attracted the admiration of the whole neighbourhood, protested against the chance of the lottery, unfavourable to his wishes. This raised a storm. The master and mistress of the parsonage, especially the latter, were extremely offended that he should imagine for an instant that anything improper could possibly occur in their house. Indeed he narrowly escaped being well thrashed, though he stuck to the last to the safer side of the question, in matrimonial fidelity. These fetes are invariably held

in the latter part of autumn, or in winter. But the peculiar custom here described is not limited to the Unistes. It was popular among the Greek clergy, and prevails, with slight modifications, in some of the wild districts of the ancient kingdom of Poland. Doubtless it originated in the unbounded hospitality of those secluded regions, where bad roads, snow storms, and numerous hordes of prowling wolves, render internal communication in winter extremely difficult. Something somewhat similar, but under different circumstances, exists, I believe, in the rural districts of Great Britain, as in Wales the custom of "bundling" is well known. So also in the Carpathian mountains, where a Highlander courting a widow, was privileged, by custom, to consider her as his lawful wife during forty-eight hours, with the option of subsequently marrying or leaving her. This singular custom is not yet abolished, and is called *fryerka*.

Page 106. (b).—The confederation of Bar was signed on the 29th of February, 1768, in Podolia, by Adam Krasinski, the Bishop of Kamienietz, his brother Michael, Francis Potocki, and Pulawski, for the protection of the Roman Catholic religion, and the expulsion of the Russians from Poland.

Page 111. (c).—The cruelties perpetrated by Gonta and Zelezniak, during the religious rebellion of 1768, are beyond all power of description. There was a hall at Houmagne where they compelled naked women to dance on the floor covered with broken glass. These unfortunate ladies were surrounded with spears, and often stabbed while the music was playing.

Page 112. (d).—These are things which cannot be mentioned.

#### CHAPTER VI.—GONTA.

Page 119. (a).—Suppressed.

Page 120.—Zelezniak promised to spare every one at Lysianka if the gates of the town were opened to him. Its governor was such a fool that he complied with this proposition; but no sooner did he do so, than a general massacre ensued.

Page 126. (b).—Levelé says, that when the inhabitants of Houmagne were slaughtered, some young females of great beauty were spared, holy water was thrown on them on account of their changing their creed, and they were given to the Haidamaques. The rebellious peasants were called Haidamaques. Only three boys were spared by accident; they secured themselves on the top of the church, and re-



mained three days without food; among them was the brother of Colonel Lagowski, who became a clergyman.

#### CHAPTER IX.—PRINCESS TARAKHANOF.

Page 175. (a).—In an old novel, entitled "*Les Annales de Leghorn*," it is affirmed that the Princess Tarakhanof inspired a real passion in an Italian youth at Pisa, who having been introduced to her at a party, accidentally discovered the fatal snare so artfully prepared for her destruction. On the sudden departure of the princess from Pisa, her southern lover followed her to Leghorn, resolved on saving her, or perishing himself in the attempt; but by a strange fatality, which sometimes mars human purposes, he arrived too late, and as she was just embarking on board the Russian man-of-war. Had he arrived but a few minutes sooner, he would in all probability have preserved her from her fate. He was seen running with extraordinary speed towards the sea shore, crying and gesticulating, and was taken for a madman. Foiled in this attempt to save the princess, he fell senseless to the ground, overwhelmed by excitement and despair. This anecdote, slightly varied in detail only, was further narrated to me by several persons; consequently I am induced to believe it based on fact.

By the way, speaking of love at first sight, her Imperial Highness the present Grand Duchess Michel of Russia is most likely unconscious, and may always remain so, that she also excited such a passion in the bosom of a private Polish soldier, attached to the first division of infantry, and who was hence nicknamed by his comrades *Wielki Xiaze Michel*, that is, Grand Duc Michel. Previous to the war of 1831 the Grand Duchess made frequent visits to Warsaw, and was then seen by her humble Polish admirer, whose peace of mind she then unintentionally destroyed. How I became the confidant of this poor fellow's hopeless love may perhaps amuse the reader. One day previous to the insurrection of 1831 I sallied forth on a shooting excursion in the neighbourhood of Warsaw, and meeting with my brother officer, Chmielinski, who was enjoying a ramble, induced him to accompany me. Scarcely had we entered the forest of Bielany, when, in a secluded part of it we perceived a private Polish soldier reclining despondingly, on the brink of a rivulet, while big tears were trickling down his sorrow-stricken cheeks. Having observed him at first in silence, we called to him, but received no answer. Lieut. Chmielinski then touched him slightly on the shoulder, when

he turned quickly round, and recognizing his superiors, made his obeisance. We then inquired the reason of his grief, promising, if possible, to alleviate it. He answered that he wanted not money, nor had he to complain of any ill treatment, but that death alone could terminate sufferings for which there was no remedy whatever. After some entreaty, he frankly confessed his unconquerable passion for her Imperial Highness the Grand Duchess Helene of Russia, consort of the Grand Duke Michel, youngest brother of the Emperor Nicholas. This confession was corroborated by these words carved on the trees—*Cudowna, piekna, boga, Wielka, Xiezna, Michalowa*. (Wonderful, beautiful, sweet, Grand Duchess Michel!) We advised him to be chary in talking of his love, as there was no telling what effect such a tale, if known, might have on the mind of the Grand Duc Michel, and especially on that of the Grand Duc Constantine his brother, then commanding the Polish army. The latter, if apprised of his malady, would probably have prescribed a twitch dance on his skin, as the most effectual means of cure. His comrades, however, frequently teased him, and even reproached him, that he was enamoured of a Russian lady. This always put him in a passion, and he answered that the Grand Duchess was a German, and not a Russian lady.

A passion for a married lady seldom produces on the lover's part a friendly feeling towards the husband, but it did so in this instance. Lieut.-Colonel Gorski subsequently informed me, that during the last war, 1831, before a general engagement between the Polish army and the Russian guard, the soldier above referred to officially apprised his superiors, that although otherwise determined to do his duty in the field as became a Polish soldier, yet should he chance to be confronted sword to sword with the Grand Duke Michel, he would neither kill nor wound his imperial antagonist, in order to spare the bitter anguish which such misfortune would probably produce on the mind of the Grand Duchess, but that he should have no objection to make him a prisoner.

This singular declaration naturally excited general hilarity among the officers, who, at all times courteous to the ladies, afforded the Grand Duchess's ardent admirer the opportunity of drinking sundry glasses of excellent claret, to the health and prosperity of the fair object of his affection, whom he saw but twice for an instant, and with whom he never exchanged a word. The taste of the Polish soldier was by no means a bad one: the Grand Duchess proved to be the best dancer

at the fashionable Polish balls at Warsaw ; she is of dignified stature and graceful deportment ; she bears an equal resemblance to the Marchioness of Aylesbury and Viscountess Palmerston, and thus realising our conception of a Scandinavian queen, one of those northern beauties so glowingly portrayed in Ossian's poetry. She received a superior education at the celebrated seminary of Madame Campan, protected by Napoleon, and was there called *la belle savante*.

His Imperial Highness the Grand Duke Michel when in a passion is like a lion, ready to tear, it is said, everything before him, but when the passion is over, he is sociable, and such a wit, that his jests force a smile on the most care-stricken countenances. Albeit he is a Russian, he behaved well some years ago to one of my female relatives at Carlsbad. He saved her intended from a journey to Siberia. Indeed he does not seem to partake of the deadly hatred of the generality of the Russians towards the Poles, nor is he so much hated by them.

It is to be remarked that the late Grand Duchess Constantine excited almost a similar passion at first sight in the heart of Baranski, one of the strongest men in the guard in the late Polish army, probably still alive ; but the latter saw her often at the reviews. She even remarked him first, and the late Grand Duke, her husband, wishing to oblige his wife, and having been apprised of his good conduct, promoted him to the rank of an officer.

#### CHAPTER XL—PUGATCHEF.

Page 187. (a).—As everything on Russia now is interesting and excites the general curiosity, it may not be amiss to give a sketch of her principal military commanders.

The most powerful men in Russia, after the emperor, are Princes Worontzof and Paszkiewich.

The former has an aristocratic name ; has been in England, and has the reputation of being an accomplished gentleman, an able administrator, a man of extensive knowledge and information, rather than a great general, though he is not altogether deficient in military capacity. He has always, it is said, advised peace being made with the Circassians, against whom, no Russian general was ever successful. He owes his elevation not only to his enormous wealth, to his high friends and connexions at the Russian court, but also to the minor military successes of Prince Dolgorouki and General Freytack.

As to Prince Paszkiewich, he is a man that does not belong to the

Russian aristocracy by birth, but who owes his elevation chiefly to his own exertions, and to some favourable events attending his campaigns. His military capacity in the last Polish war was much exaggerated. When he took the command of the Russian army in Poland, in 1831, the Poles were deserted and discouraged; their indomitable valour was gradually and systemically shaken by the indecision, weakness, and incapacity of their leaders; and by many treasonable machinations which might have been prevented and crushed, had more energetic measures been taken, a true government established, and some generals been shot. The cancer of anarchy and corruption had spread in all directions. Under such favourable circumstances, any general possessing a moderate share of ability and patience, and with such extensive means at his disposal as Paszkiewich had, might have been equally successful. But, as to his former campaigns in Persia and Turkey, no lover of fair play, who carefully studies them, can possibly deny him military talents; and his rule in Poland, under difficult and trying circumstances, denotes a sagacious mind: and though Paszkiewich is not a man of Suvarof cruelty, and is not disliked, it is said, by the generality of the Poles, the following circumstance will convince the reader how terrible are the means he sometimes employs for repressing abuses and disorders:—

Some time since, a Polish gentleman with his wife and daughter left Warsaw in a carriage and four; and, contrary to the advice of his friends, was returning, in the night, to his home in the country. Scarcely had he proceeded a few English miles from Warsaw, when he was stopped by a Circassian cavalry patrol. He was robbed, his servants beaten, his wife and daughter ill-used, and one of the ruffians cut off his lady's finger on which was a large diamond. As the use of every kind of weapon is forbidden in Poland, the gentleman, in the struggle, repelled several of the assailants with his fist, and gave one of the Russians such a happy blow with his pipe on the hind part of his head, that it stunned the ruffian, who fell senseless to the ground; and soon afterwards another travelling carriage liberated the Polish family from further molestation. As the outrage occurred almost within sight of Warsaw, the gentlemen, indignant at such a robbery on the public highway, returned immediately thither; and alighting directly at Paszkiewich's residence, demanded an interview with the latter; the prince soon came out, and felt eager to know what he wanted. Scarcely had the Russian

field-marshal made his appearance, when the Polish lady, excited by the loss of her finger and by the infamous treatment to which they had been subjected, opened so skilful an attack on the latter in her first burst of indignation, (and with her cutting eloquence interspersed with sobbing and screaming), that the conqueror of Poland, unprepared to parry her reproaches and forcible arguments, could not at first say a word in justification ; but, after a while answered, "*Madam, remember with whom you are speaking ; if you address me thus in public, I shall be obliged to punish you : but, enter my house with your husband, and I give you my word of honour, as a soldier, that no harm shall be done to you : and there you may say to me what you think proper.*" She then entered his house, where she was patiently listened to ;—and when a Polish lady unbridles her tongue it is no joke. Paszkiewich, in all probability, heard such *verba veritatis*, as he will never hear again. At all events, he promised her to take all necessary measures for punishing the guilty parties. He called his aide-de-camp and gave him peremptory orders that all the Circassians who were engaged in patrolling the previous night, should attend, without the exception of a single man, (whether sick or dead,) in the Saxon square, the next morning ; and after taking leave of the injured ladies, he requested the Polish gentleman to attend him there at the proper time. The next day he inspected, personally, all the Circassians, made the most minute inquiries, but could not discover the guilty parties ; and asked the gentleman, alluded to, whether he could recognise any one among these soldiers who had robbed him on the preceding night ; the latter answered, that it was a dark and starless night, and his conscience would not allow him to criminate any particular man unjustly ; that he thought however, that they belonged to the field-marshal's guard ; and, that the one who received a blow on the head from him, must have a mark. The field-marshal immediately ordered that all the men belonging to the Circassian detachments, should come, one after the other, take off their caps, and show him their heads. One soldier actually had a fresh and bloody mark on his head ; and after a careful examination it was soon found that it must have proceeded from a blow. Paszkiewich gave him a box on the ear, accused him of robbery, and peremptorily ordered him to name his accomplices : he mentioned seven persons, among them an officer ; they were all immediately arrested, tried, and convicted. Paszkiewich ordered three physicians to be called without delay, and seven coffins to be con-

structed in two hours, if they were not to be found ready-made at the undertakers. When everything was ready, the seven men alluded to, including the officers, were undressed, tied to their coffins, and, without any further ceremony flogged to death, in the presence of the Polish gentleman. When the physicians had pronounced them to be dead, they were all buried close to the place where they committed the offence. From that time the spot is called "the grave of the seven robbers" (*grob sied miu rozbojnikow*). This terrible example struck terror into the hearts of the soldiers; and stopped the further commission of robbery. The soldiers alluded to, were certainly deserving of exemplary punishment, but the manner of its infliction was not in accordance with the customs of civilized Europe. I mention this anecdote, the details of which I give on the authority of an eye witness to the circumstance, as it bears the peculiar stamp of the Russian rule. Field-marshal Paszkewich, Prince of Warsaw, seems to be superior in military capacity to Prince Worontzof, but the latter, it is said, is more liked at the Russian court. I noticed at Warsaw, to my fellow-officers in the Polish guard, in 1828, the military talents of the former.

Page 199. (e).—Uffa; a town of that name exists near Whitehaven, in Cumberland, in a very bleak and deserted neighbourhood, the most isolated perhaps in England; where the communication, on account of the extended moors, steep hills, deep ravines, bad roads, and snow storms, in winter especially, is difficult. The surrounding scenery of Uffa is grand, romantic, and beautiful. Not unfrequently eagles are to be seen on the top of Blackcombe.

#### CHAPTER XII.—DESCRIPTION OF THE UKRAINE.

Page 226. (a).—The word *Russian* must be distinguished from Muscovite; the epithet here does not apply to any part of Muscovy or Russia, simply so called. Black Russia, White Russia, and Red Russia, belonged, from time immemorial, to the kingdom of Poland. The country round Vitebek Polotzk and Mohilev, on the banks of the Dnieper, of the higher banks of Dzvina, at the present time incorporated, in a great measure, with the governments of Minsk, was called, and is still called White Russia, *Biala Rus'*, on account of the numerous white hares that are met with therein, as also on account of the dresses of the same colour worn by the peasants. It is one of the poorest countries in Europe. The country between the Dnieper and the Prypetz, forming the ancient circle of Novogrodek, at the pre-

sent time incorporated with the government of Grodno, was formerly, and is still denominated Black Russia, *Czarna Rus'*. The southern part of the ancient palatinate of Lublin, the country round Chelm, a portion of Volhynia, and, above all, the circle of Lutzk, the country round Przemysl and Halicz, were formerly called Red Russia, *Czerwona Rus'*. White and Black Russia, at the dismemberment of Poland, came under the power of the Russians. With respect to Red Russia, the soil of which is extremely fertile, and which was very extensive, this was not assigned to Russia ; it was only the extreme north of this province that was annexed to the Government of Volhynia. The territory, in the environs of Lublin and Chelm, belonged lately to the kingdom of Poland, which was suppressed after the war in 1831. All the rest was placed under the dominion of Austria, together with the capital of Red Russia Leopold, in Polish Lvov ; in German Lemberg, now the capital of Galicia, that is, of all the Austrian portion of Poland. This town was not only the ancient capital of Red Russia, but of all the Russic territories. These Russic territories (we venture upon the use of this epithet for the sake of distinction) comprehended nearly a third part of the kingdom, embracing the whole extent of the south of Poland, that is, of the Ukraine, Podolia, Volhynia, and Red Russia. This latter was ruled, in the thirteenth century, by a king, the only Russic king, Daniel, who invaded the country at the head of a Batar force, which committed dreadful devastation. Casimir the Great, *Kazimierz Wielki*, in the year 1346, incorporated Red Russia with Poland, and divided it into palatinates ; it formed a part of Poland for the space of 449 years, that is, till the final dismemberment of the country. An individual dared to write in the "British and Foreign Review," especially devoted to the Polish cause, that the provinces in question ought to belong to Russia ; this singular assertion can in no wise alter the truth, based as it is on historical facts, and absolutely incontrovertible. Peter the Great was the first who took the title of Emperor of all the Russias. This title is rather politic and imaginary than real, inasmuch as the last king of Poland, Stanislaus Poniatowski—that effeminate puppet, better calculated to figure in a tavern, than on the throne of a great nation—that vile tool of the Russian cabinet, who signed the dismemberment of his own kingdom, and quietly allowed the senators of the diet of Grodno to be carried away by force, an act of complaisance which, after his abdication, appeared to have gained for him a prompt passport into the other world—bore the title of King of Poland, Grand

Duke of Lithuania, Grand Russic Duke. It is to be regretted that there is no difference in English, as in Polish and French, between *Ruski* and *Russyiki*, *Russien* and *Russe*, *Rus* and *Rosya*, *Russie* and *terres Russiennes*, by which many historical errors would have been avoided. We have presumed to use the epithet Russic to mark a distinction so imperatively necessary ; since the denomination of the word *Rus*, the Poles understand and consider Red Russia, Volhynia, Podolia, and the Ukraine, on the right bank of the Dnieper, all the Russic territories belonged to Little Poland, *Malo Polska* the most extended province of ancient Poland.

Page 230. [Steppes.] The steppes of the Ukraine are for the most part covered with plants, from three to four feet high, called *budziak* (pronounced *boodziaki*). They are smooth from the end, and prickled on the top ; thus affording an excellent shelter for all kinds of game, wild animals and sometimes wolves. Wood being very scarce, these reeds are used as fuel, especially in winter. To afford the reader some idea of the danger to which a traveller was not unfrequently, (in times past, and may yet be) exposed, at the inns, in the thinly peopled wilds of the south-eastern Ukraine, I may instance an appalling circumstance that occurred during my stay in that province many years ago, as also an adventure which happened in those regions to my father (deceased 28 years since), and in which his life was almost miraculously preserved.

Twelve Greek merchants, having successfully sold their goods at Odessa, were returning to the town of Brody with large sums of money, and halted at an inn in the Steppes. One of them attended to the horses ; the remainder slept in the same room on the carpets, placed on hay, as the comfort of beds, known in Western Europe, is out of the question in these resting-places.

Having partaken of refreshments, smoked their pipes, and drank some grog, the merchants, fatigued by the journey, and, confident in their number, scorning the necessary precautions, soon fell into a deep slumber. After midnight three men, with noiseless steps, entered the travellers' room. Two of them carried a narrow plank, prepared beforehand, and holding it at each end, in which some lead was put on purpose, placed it cautiously across the breasts of the unsuspecting travellers, pressing it down with all their might, while the third, with a double-edged, thick, and sharp-pointed knife, cut the eleven victims' throats with lightning speed.

A mere accident, however, led to the detection of this atrocity. Shortly subsequent to its perpetration another traveller entered the



inn, and accosted one of the assassins. This fellow had appropriated to himself the valuable watch of one of his victims, which watch, by an ingenious contrivance, played several airs, after the fashion of a musical box. While the two were conversing the watch commenced playing. "What is that?" inquired the traveller. "It is only my watch," answered the villain, turning pale with conscious guilt. "It must be a very curious one; pray let me examine it," said the traveller. The man's hesitation at complying with this request, and his evasive replies to other interrogatories, naturally excited a suspicion that an article so unusual to one of his humble rank had not honestly come into his possession. Consequently the traveller lost no time in communicating the affair to the police. The premises were thereupon searched, and the result was the detection and arrest of the criminals. After a protracted trial, they were convicted, knouted, and executed.

Now for my father's adventure. Shortly after the above transaction, he was travelling between Odessa and Kiow, and stopped at an inn, kept by a married couple of Ormians (*Ormianie*), an eastern sect of mixed race, deserving separate description. Having held a commission in the Polish legion, and having fought against Souvarof in Italy, under the command of the French general, Championet, my father, who had only two servants with him, was conscious of the danger attending such places; therefore, after taking a complete survey of the premises, he gave the necessary orders to the servants to be on the watch, himself being well prepared for any emergency. The landlord pressed him to seek repose, but as there was something in the man's looks which by no means inspired confidence, my father resolved not to comply with his importunities. He was very submissive, and in answer to several questions, contradicted himself on the main points. He affirmed that he did not expect any other guests, and that no one then resided in the house except his wife, his daughter, a girl about fifteen years of age, and a male servant, notwithstanding that my father thought he occasionally heard a low whispering of strange voices; but as, despite his most searching examination, he could not discover any one, he ascribed it only to the working of his imagination. The disappearance, however, of the coachman's dog, which could nowhere be found, re-excited his suspicion. Being well provided with fire-arms, he placed a brace of loaded pistols on the table. Why he remained at all was that the badness of the road, the want of provender for his tired horses, and the utter darkness of a November night precluded a removal, at that late hour, from his anything but pleasant

quarters. He remarked that the hostess often cast her eyes on the pistols, and, bringing a cup of tea, she let fall the cup, as if by accident on the locks. My father, greatly displeased, began to scold her, and in order to ascertain whether there were really more persons in the house than those mentioned by the landlord, he put fresh powder in the locks, and fired a pistol. At the report some traps were suddenly opened, and several men, with flashing eyes and large knives in their hands, sprang up from beneath. My father, however, was provided with two brace of pocket pistols, which he had kept concealed, and one of the domestics, with pistol in hand, came, conformably to the previous orders which he had received, to my father's assistance, while the other was guarding the carriage and horses. My father threatened to shoot the first who dared to approach, and the warning produced a salutary effect. Soon, however, the welcome daylight afforded him a fair opportunity for quitting this most suspicious house of entertainment. Although the whole affair was reported to the Russian police, and a Russian magistrate (*sprawnik*) examined the premises, it could not be satisfactorily proved that the landlord actually designed to murder my father, but the latter had certainly no reason to doubt the man's guilty intention in that respect. My mother was also once in great danger, while travelling in the Ukraine under different circumstances. But a large volume would be filled were I to detail the numerous similar circumstances, of unquestionable authenticity, that have come to my knowledge—not alone intended murders but actual assassinations, as also attacks not always successful. Generally speaking, such crimes are committed on by-roads, on travellers not sufficiently on their guard. The offenders are not so easily to be caught, it not unfrequently happening that the Russian police magistrates, who are badly paid, are indirectly participators in the robbers' plunder. The vast extent of the country forms also another obstacle to the speedy capture of the offenders. The robbers also have their faithful spies abroad, who guide them how to act, even in large towns. The whole country of the Steppes, from the Ukraine to the Tartar boundary, is not safe. It is thinly settled, indeed, from the difficult access to water in dry seasons. The following precautions may be useful in such places : to examine carefully the premises ; to have a dog and fire-arms ; to be always on the *qui vive* ; not to take any liquid from the landlord, and, by sounding with a hammer or other means, to ascertain whether there is any trap or concealed entrance into the room. The journey in these wilds, notwithstanding

all its difficulty, presents, especially in agreeable company, far more charms and attraction than the common and prosaic journey in Western Europe. Mr. Cortazi, member of the Polish Association, who was for some years resident in the Ukraine, and is now in London, can decide as to the correctness of my observations.

Page 232. (b).—As he entered in triumph he struck with his sword the gilded gate of the city, and made a mark upon the gate as well as upon his sword, which was called *Szezerbiec* (pronounced *Schtcharbiatz*) on account of the mark. The kings of Poland were girded with this sword during the ceremony of their coronation.

Page 255. (c).—Speaking of Ukrainian ladies, I take this opportunity of describing other shades of provincial Polish beauties, whose facsimile I have seen among the fair daughters of Great Britain. Generally speaking, Polish ladies do not resemble either French, or German, or English ladies, though, by their manners, complexion, and character, they form a curious mixture of them, partaking something of the eastern ladies. Poland is also such a large country, that between North Polish ladies and South Polish ladies there may be a slight difference in features. The Marchioness of M—— (the lady of the gallant Colonel, Marquis of M——) aide-de-camp to Prince Louis Napoleon, has something Polish in her manners and features, and can be easily taken for a Gallician lady (Gallicia is in Austrian Poland.) Mrs. H——, the second wife of the banker of that name, at Skipton, Mrs. Richard D——, at Knaresborough, and one of the Misses D——, from Red How, in the Lake district, present living specimens of Polish ladies, of purely Polish race, of midland Poland. Mrs. Henry G——, of Moorland, Lancashire, the wife of a member of Parliament, can be taken as a specimen of a Polish lady, a native of the grand duchy of Posen in Prussian Poland. Mrs. M. T—— residing in the secluded wilds of the south-eastern borders, is a living specimen of a Mazovian lady. Indeed these ladies are equally distinguished for their personal graces, their fascinating manners, their varied accomplishments, and their estimable qualities.

Speaking so much about Ukrainian ladies, I consider it as a pleasing duty to mention the name of one of the shining stars among them, Countess Delfina Potocka (pronounced *Pototska*), whose talents, knowledge, eloquence, various accomplishments, united with high birth, wealth, noble feelings, fascinating manners, and virtues, are fully worthy to be described. From Poland to the banks of the Rhine, from the foaming cataracts of the Dnieper to the soft sky of Italy, power-

ful princes bow to her, court her smile and approbation, and would be glad to crouch at her feet. Polish grandees and poets paint her in their poetry, and retain for her, after their marriage, a platonic attachment founded on esteem, respect, and friendship. When she sings, and when her fair fingers touch the piano, or slightly tease and caress the grateful strings of the harp, she pours streams of delight into the human soul: not only men but animals are moved, and even the sorrowful sister of the night, the silent protector of lovers, mournful and solitary, longing for ages in vain for a sweet companion, slightly advances from the tops of time-honoured oaks, looks in at her window, and begs for a kiss—Bohr...a Zapomniana Sigis.

Page 260. (c.)—It may not be amiss to inform the reader that not only young Potocki (Palatine's son) mentioned in Malczewski's mournful poem "Maria," was unfortunate (the father having ordered the son's beautiful wife to be murdered during the honeymoon, under circumstances of peculiar atrocity) but Malczewski himself. The latter was a young man of ancient family settled in the Ukraine. Possessing an ardent soul, and having received a superior education, he left his home, visited the holy land, reached the top of Mont Blanc, and travelled through all Europe. After spending the greatest portion of his moderate fortune during his wanderings abroad, he suddenly felt a taste for retirement, and stayed for some time at the seat of his schoolfellow (to whom he was very much attached), in a secluded part of Volhynia, not far from the town of Włodzimierz; the latter married a lady who was induced by family connexions to accept him for a husband; and scarcely had Malczewski been introduced to her, than he fell suddenly a victim of her charms. Admitted to her intimacy, he had the opportunity of displaying his knowledge and eloquence, which his friend, a good and homely kind of man, did not possess. As, however, the latter received him with open arms, and never gave him any offence, and as in Poland, where great sociability exists, the sacred laws of hospitality are always respected, he never abused his friend's confidence, nor betrayed his secret to any one. The temptation, however, of seeing the beloved object every day increased the difficulties of mastering that passion; he became restless, whimsical, shunned her sight, wandered in the night, often spent the whole day on the neighbouring lake, yet always patted and caressed the children in the house, who became fond of him. Once he was taken for a robber, another time for a madman. The lady complained to her husband that she never gave any offence to

his friend, and yet that friend's manners were so distant towards her, that it led her to think she had somehow offended him. Malczewski, however, tormented by temptation, suddenly formed the wise resolution to leave his friend's house, but before leaving it he wished to take a secret farewell of the object of his ardent affection. After waiting a long time in the night, he suddenly left his room, came under the window of her bed-chamber, knelt, pronounced the cherished name, and wept like a child. A favoured maid, however, of the lady alluded to, induced by curiosity, watched him, and discovered his secret, and after his departure, apprised her mistress of everything connected with the subject. Though ladies keep their own secrets very well, yet they very seldom keep the secrets of others. This matter, under various shapes, soon became the principal topic of conversation amongst the old maids of the whole neighbourhood, and Malczewski, whose health was much injured, careless about his business, wandering from place to place, without friends and relatives, was confined to his bed, and subjected to want and misery. Some of his enemies, jealous of his talents, had the imprudence to slander him in the presence of his favourite lady and her husband, who had nothing to reproach him with, and who seemed to listen too much to their tattle : this offended his wife, who, highly indignant at their injustice, packed up her things, left a letter for her husband, and went directly in quest of Malczewski. She stepped into the room as he was just pronouncing her name ; he was very ill, and could not at first believe his own eyes. She, however, embraced him, and apprised him of her gratitude. She never left him any more, and he soon died in her arms. It is an indisputed fact, confirmed by a thousand ages, that we cannot command our affection, that true love is always felt at the first sight ; though its power can be modified or increased under adverse and favourable circumstances. It is also a sentiment, which is sometimes ungovernable, and gains the mastery despite all difficulties ; combining moral weakness with sexual passion, it asserts that one common law governs all mankind, though natural disposition, education, and habits, make a wonderful difference between one man and another. Love is also always disinterested and generous ; it is a friend to youth, and an enemy to old age ; it seldom bears a long absence ; it requires also reciprocity, because though we may be occasionally partial for awhile to those who care not for us, yet on the whole, and for any length of time, we cannot love but those who love us.

It is also a great mistake to think that even friendship, which is based on esteem, is formed only with years ; particular circumstances, and our first impression of the man whom we choose for our friend, have a good deal to do with it. We may live for half a century with a man, and even esteem him, yet we do not feel for that man the same friendship as for another whose countenance pleased us; and, therefore, in love and friendship there is a mesmeric influence which guides us indirectly, is felt and cannot be described. For my part, I never could conquer my first impression of any one under the most trying circumstances.

The "Castle of Kaniof, by Goszczynski," is founded on the following fact, which happened during the time of the rebellion of Gonta. A powerful Polish grandee, Staroste, and governor of Kaniof, who was residing in that town on the banks of the Dnieper, had a favourite Cossack, known by his valour and strength, called Nebabo, who fell in love with a beautiful Ukrainian girl, Orlika, strongly attached to him, and courted at the same time by the governor, whose advances she rejected. The marriage, however, between the two lovers did not take place, though the day for the nuptial ceremony was settled. The governor of Kaniof, having been informed of the intended marriage, summoned the girl Orlika and her brother before him, and peremptorily ordered the former either immediately to become his wife, or to be the eye witness of her brother's death on the gibbet for an imaginary crime. Orlika saved her brother, and married the governor. Nebabo, in despair, joined the bands of Gonta, and came with them at midnight to sack the castle, and to kill its inhabitants, but was prevented in his project by Schvatchka. Orlika, when the governor was sleeping on his splendid couch, cautiously took a sharp knife, and plunged it in the heart of her husband. When the gates of the castle were broken by the Haidamaques, and when they entered with lighted torches, in quest of the governor, Orlika, out of her senses, in her night dress, and with a knife stained with warm blood in one hand, and a lamp in the other, with a sneering smile, talked of her vengeance, and killed herself. Soon afterwards, however, Nebabo was wounded, and died in the arms of another girl whom he had previously seduced. These two poems are translated, but the translations are as inferior to the original as a candle to the sun.

Page 269. (*d.*)—Alexander Ilowicki (pronounced Ilowitski), the present Roman Catholic clergyman at Rome, with his brother Edward Ilowicki, had thirteen squadrons of cavalry, which was formed in a

fortnight in the Ukraine, in the last Polish insurrection in 1831; they had vigorous men and excellent horses, but no officers to direct them. Alexander Hlowicki was one of my seconds in a duel which I fought, the 29th of September, 1833, with Count Vladislav Plater, at Paris. Edward Hlowicki, commonly called Marszałek (a title in Russian Poland corresponding to the title of a high sheriff of the county in England) has a peculiar taste for mechanics, studied the art of artillery for several years in France, and had a practical knowledge of it, and indeed is one of the best artillery marksmen I ever saw. He was for some time residing at Algiers, where he distinguished himself by his gallantry, and was decorated with the French order of *legion d'honneur*, while his hospitality, attachment to Poland, and cheerfulness of mind, made him a general favourite. There is also in the Polish emigration their namesake Nicholas Hlowicki a good linguist, and clever writer.

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#### COUNT KORWIN KRASINSKI'S FAMILY.

As in my pamphlet on the Polish aristocracy, published in 1842, I did sufficient justice to the principal Polish families, but committed some errors respecting the origin of my own family, I promised a person acquainted with my relatives to correct such errors in any new work that I might subsequently publish. I think it proper to fulfil my promise now in a note; and to describe faithfully, not only the origin of Corvin (Korwin in Polish) Krasinski's family according to the most authentic information which I have since gleaned from several authors; but also to mention all those who belong to it, to name the seats of which they are the owners, and to describe more or less, their features and character, according to my disinterested observation, though I know very well that it may expose me to annoyances.

The first ancestor of Korwin Slepovron Krasinski's family was a Roman knight, who, called out by a foreign chief of noted size, strength, and bravery to fight a deadly duel with him, slew him, and took a golden ring from his finger in the presence of both armies. As during the fight a raven was seen near him, he was called from that time Corvin (Korwin), which means raven (Kruk), and which name he transmitted to his descendants. He died at the age of a hundred years. From Italy that family went to Hungary. Valerius Messalus Corvinus conquered that province for the Romans in the reign of

Tiberius Cæsar. There are still in Dalmatia and Ragusa some splendid buildings, public documents, and historical reminiscences associated with that family.

The mother of Holy Szczepan, king of Hungary, was a Corvin. To that family also belonged the celebrated Hungarian warrior, John Huniad Corvin, whose son Mathias was elected to the throne of Hungary. For political reasons the latter's natural son emigrated to Poland, and settling among his relatives there, became the progenitor of the youngest branch of the Krasinski family ; while at the same time, another Krasinski went from Poland to the court of King Mathias, who acknowledged him as his relative, and satisfied with his courage and ability, liberally rewarded him for his services, and then allowed him to return to his country. These two branches were much mixed by intermarriages, and the youngest branch is extinct. The Hungarian Korwins are also, I have heard, in all probability extinct, though many years ago they claimed their share of succession in Poland. There was a time when some Hungarian Korwins were staying among the Polish Korwins, and some Polish Korwins were staying among the Hungarian Korwins. From Hungary that family passed to Poland, and settled in the duchy of Mazovia, which, before its annexation to the kingdom of Poland, in the reign of Sigismundus I., in 1537, was an independent principality.

Antecedent to the year 1224, Conrad, the old Duke of Mazovia (Konrad Stary), at the request of Vawrzenta Corvin (Wawrzeta Korwin), who first removed from Hungary to Poland, permitted the latter to add to his original surname the title of his estate, Slepovron, which means a crow. The above Wawrzeta Korwin married Dorothy Pobożanka, a Polish heiress, who to wealth and beauty joined great amiability of character. Her husband had a daughter to whom he was attached, and whose personal attraction was daily increasing ; his lady, however (Pobożanka), instead of being jealous of her, paid so much attention to her, and overwhelmed her with so much kindness that she gained her friendship for life ; while Wawrzeta Korwin, wishing to give a mark of his particular regard to his wife, adopted legally her coat of arms, and put them under his own, which he transmitted to his descendants : a case scarcely ever known in Poland. Under the raven with a golden ring in its beak, he placed a silver horseshoe in a blue field, which was originally red, on account of the blood spilt by his ancestor's vanquished antagonist. He left



two sons, and divided among them his estates; the law of primogeniture never having prevailed in Poland. The oldest who took his mother's estate, retained the blue field in his coat of arms; the youngest reverted to the red field. In some documents and title deeds it is half red and half blue, or entirely red or blue, though the armorial bearings are the same.

Slavomir Korwin was the first who, from the estate called *Krasne*, transmitted him by his father, took the name of Slawomir Korwin Slepowron Krasinski, in 1337. His descendant, Stanislas Krasinski, palatine of Plock (pronounced Plotsk), who visited Africa and travelled over all Europe, left, by two wives, five daughters and ten sons. He was raised to the dignity of a foreign count, which title was inherited by his progeny (Vide *Konstytucye Xwa Mazowieckiego*).

Among all the above mentioned descendants of Korwin Krasinski's family, none was more noted for his knowledge and influence than Francis, the bishop of Cracow, who was several times sent as an ambassador from the Polish clergy to the pope, Paul IV., and by whose exertions the ultimate union of the Grand Duchy of Litvania with Poland was accomplished in 1569, in the reign of Sigismundus Augustus. He was the latter king's confessor, and was always opposed to religious persecutions, in fashion in his time.

After him, setting aside some good generals, none was equal in wisdom, craft, and knowledge to Count Adam Krasinski, the bishop of Kamienietz, who signed the confederation of Bar, the 29th of February, 1768.

There are at present four branches of Krasinski's family, and three generations. The head of the first branch, and the senior in age, is General Count Vincent Korwin Krasinski, who by his late wife, Princess Radzivell, has an only child, a son, Sigismond, married some years ago to Elizabeth Countess Branitska, by whom he has two young boys.

The general alluded to, performed extraordinary feats of valour under Napoleon, especially at Samossiera in the month of November, 1808, in Spain, where three squadrons of Polish lancers under his command stormed, up hill, a pass half a mile in length, and twenty-five yards in breadth, defended at the top by fifteen pieces of heavy cannon, and eleven thousand of Spanish regular infantry, under the order of General St. Juan. In spite, however, of all these formidable defences, and the two hills swarming with sharpshooters; in spite of the grape shot of the cannon, his intrepid band, composed of chosen

men and chosen horses, reached the top, took all the cannons, broke all the squares, routed the Spaniards and cleared the road for Napoleon's army to Madrid.

In all the French, and even British military works, this celebrated charge is mentioned, and is undoubtedly considered as one of the most extraordinary in this century. It, however, succeeded, not only by the brilliant and indomitable valour of the Polish lancers and their gallant commander; but also by some favourable circumstances attending it. Napoleon was so much surprised at the complete success of the charge of Samossiera that he said: "Now, dear Krasinski, I believe in wonders." "It would be a wonder, sire," rejoined the latter, "if there was one single soldier under my command, who should hesitate an instant to sacrifice the last drop of his blood for your majesty's glory." This *bon mot* extremely pleased Napoleon, and was followed by many others, which, always delivered under proper circumstances, brought him substantial favours. Napoleon called him the Polish Alcibiades; the Polish Alcibiades having expensive habits was often in want. Once Napoleon met him walking dispirited in the streets of Paris. "You have debts, Krasinski," said the emperor. "Yes, sire, I have;" "Your debts are mine;" and thrice they were paid (30,000*l.*) Once Napoleon ordered Duroc to give to his favourite Polish aide-de-camp £6,000. Duroc looked cross. "Give to Krasinski £3,000 more," and they were given, and when the latter said, "The interest is worthy of your majesty," a handsome interest of that sum, much larger than that which any banker would require for it, was added to the additional gift, which altogether amounted to 100,000*l.* The general alluded to served in all the wars from 1806 till 1814, under Napoleon, and his regiment of lancers became the terror of the enemy, as they broke and routed every cavalry and infantry, which they ever attacked, and they never were beaten. To this time even at Bordeaux, there are numerous ballads and songs in their favour. They formed the guard of the French emperor, under the name of *chevaux legers*; they did wonders at Wagram, and in 1813.

It is impossible to describe the enthusiastic cheers with which the remainder of the gallant Polish bands, under the command of the General alluded to were received at Posen in 1814. Men, women, and children hailed them weeping. The uniform of the lancers was blue, trimmed with crimson, and double-breasted (not according to the English fashion), trimmed with rich embroidered gold. They wore a splendid crimson lancer's cap, on which there was a golden

sun and a fine white ostrich feather. This uniform, with golden epaulets, splendid horses, chosen men, coloured pennants streaming from the top of the lances, produced in the sunshine an effect impossible to describe. At the sight of these warriors, preceded by the fame of the victories of Samossiera, Vagram, Reichenbach, and others, (most of them being decorated with military orders) the heroes of a hundred battles, commanded recently by the most skilful captain of the age, to whom they were faithful when every thing left him, passing slowly in military array, and returning to their country without ever having been fairly vanquished, a sort of religious veneration filled the heart. One would have thought that the sacred soil of a country that gave birth to such soldiers, could not be stained by a foreign foot, or oppressed.

When the ringing of bells, the clash of arms, the roar of cannons, and repeated huzzas ceased, when twenty-four beautiful maidens, dressed in white, had thrown their flowers on the lancers, and silence was restored, the general, one of the handsomest men of his age—thirty-three at that time—dazzling the eyes by the diamonds of his numerous decorations, sitting on a splendid steed worthy of a Mahomet or a Tamerlane, advanced some steps towards the ladies, stopped, bowed gracefully to them, and, in a clear and distinct voice, delivered a speech during which, without any exaggeration, he put Cicero fairly in his pocket, and melted half-a-dozen Demosthenes on his lips. After repeated huzzas, when the officers left their horses, he was obliged to submit his manly cheeks to the repeated kisses of the maidens. The silky hair of one of them got entangled seriously to his golden epaulets for more than a minute, to the jealous surprise of some dowagers. The same evening a ball was given, and as my late father was a schoolfellow of the general's, and travelled with me in haste, we arrived the same day at Posen. I was at that time nine years old. After embracing me he introduced me as his relative at the ball, and delivered me to the care of the Posen ladies. As I had not slept for two nights, I soon fell into a deep slumber between two Posen beauties. The sound of music awakened me; I danced the polonaise with the lady, and partook of some ice. So strong are my early impressions, that though this happened to me above thirty years ago, I perfectly remember her features, which greatly resembled those of the likeness of the northern Sappho at Ulverstone.

Some weeks afterwards I marched, between Lieut. Gnatowski and Stakiewicz, with the Polish army into the late kingdom of Poland, and

entered Warsaw with the staff of the general, on a small black horse of remarkable beauty. My first recollections were thus associated with a military life. I never could forget the hospitality and kindness shown me by the inhabitants of Posen.

General Count Vincent Korwin Krasinski Senalor Palatin, is one of the richest men in Poland, and has most of the Polish, French, and Russian decorations. His knowledge, gallantry, and flowing eloquence, his celebrated *repartees*, his singular adventures and liberality, also made him the pet of all the ladies, from queens to peasant girls, and the favourite of all the sovereigns to whom he was introduced. He was successively the aide-de-camp and the favourite of Napoleon (who made him lieutenant-general), to whom he was faithful as a dog to its master, even to the last when every thing left him. After bringing the remainder of the Polish army in 1814, from France to Poland; he became aide-de-camp of the Emperor Alexander and Nicholas, as kings of Poland, and held a superior command in the late Polish army. He served them faithfully. Some of his adventures are so singular, that they are worthy to be mentioned. During his youth he had a mistress, called Tekla, who presented him a first-born son. At this happy news, two batteries of small cannon (*vivatove harmaty*), fired one hundred shots; merry peals were ringing in all directions, there was a regular levee at his palace; eloquent speeches were delivered, five-hundred bottles of champagne were beheaded, thousands of pounds in money and clothing were distributed to the poor, offences of the peasants on his estates were forgiven, fifteen thousand pounds were settled on the mother and child, a wine merchant, unexpectedly patronised, made his fortune and married his daughter well, the old maids unbridled their tongues for a fortnight, six couples of young orphans were united and provided for, and even the faithful companions of man, dogs and horses (according to the letter of my late uncle, Hilary), had their share of rejoicings. At this time Warsaw was under Prussian domination, and the Prussian police seeing the whole fashion of the town in motion, and hearing constant firings and the ringing of bells, became alarmed, and thought it was an insurrection; but the alarm soon subsided. At any rate, no human being ever came into this world under more noisy and favourable circumstances for the prosperity of his fellow-creatures, than the lateral descendant of the noble house of Korwin, but unfortunately, he died soon, and his inconsolate and beautiful mother followed him to the grave, to the general's regret. Having heard that it is in fashion

not to attach too much importance to money, he lost at cards £25,000 in one evening. On another occasion he engaged a cab for the whole day; the next day a cabman called early and requested to speak with him; he was admitted, and handed to the general (at that time a civilian), a small parcel containing in mixed bank notes £500; the general counted them, and saw that all was right; thanked the cabman, marked his number, gave him a glass of wine and shook hands with him; when he was close to the door, he re-called him, and handed him £500 as a reward for his honesty, which made his fortune for life. Similar actions on a smaller, and even on a larger scale, were repeated. At another time, his friend being well aware of the general's taste for naked feet, induced his wife to give a splendid ball, at which all the female portion of her chosen guests were dressed *a l'antique*, and obliged to disclose the top of their fair, snowy, and delicate feet to the searching gaze of men, who plunging their eyes in them, should have liked to discover, if possible, on those feet the same charms which a happy bridegroom discovers on the cheeks of his blooming bride, when after a kiss, he dares to hint to her in a whisper the prospects of the pleasures concealed for them under the cloke of night, whose very name make her blush and tremble at the same time. The general, whose passion for the naked feet is too well known, was so delighted with it, that he never could forget it, and was obliged to describe it to the late Queen Hortense and Napoleon. No man in the world was ever cherished more by his servants, his tenantry, his soldiers, and his officers. To the latter he was a sort of brother. To his dinners, which I often attended, he invited one day the country squires, another day military men, the third his equals and superiors, and every Friday, scientific men, poets and writers. The latter party always included a paltry writer named Marcin...ski, whose poetry and person excited general hilarity and undoubtedly promoted digestion; for which laudable services he was rewarded by a situation of £200 per annum. The subjoined facts will best prove the devotedness and affection which distinguished the servants and officers of the general. During the time of Napoleon a fierce quarrel broke out, close to the general's palace at Warsaw, between the Saxon and Bavarian troops. Mutually exasperated, they fought furiously among themselves. Several had already fallen on either side, when, anxious to stop the further effusion of blood, the general interposed between the combatants; but no sooner had he done so, than the infuriated soldiers

turned their weapons upon the general's person, who would undoubtedly have perished, had not Zdanovitch, by chance beholding the extreme peril of his beloved general, come, at the most critical moment, to his assistance, and presented his naked hands as a shield against the swords and bayonets so ferociously thrust at the general. Their assailants every moment increasing in number, the danger became yet more imminent. Thereupon Zdanovitch exclaimed, "Fly at once, dear general, or you are lost." "But," said Krasinski, "what will become of you?" "I shall be happy to die for you," replied the noble-minded Zdanovitch. With some difficulty the general escaped, and having procured aid, returned to the scene of his adventure. The devoted gallant Zdanovitch was found stretched senseless on the ground, literally bathed in the gore which had gushed from his numerous wounds. However, he ultimately recovered, and was not forsaken by the grateful general. On another occasion, during the war of 1813, the same general accompanied only by his lieutenant Vonsovitch, was surprised and surrounded by a detachment of the enemy's dragoons. Having fought until their swords were broken, Vonsovitch then flung himself between the general and his opponents, receiving on his own person the blows aimed at the former, until he was actually covered with wounds, thus preserving Krasinski's life at the hazard of his own. Vonsovitch also survived the effect of the dangerous injuries thus sustained by him, and was not forgotten, in having an estate presented to him, by the general. I am personally acquainted with these two noble defenders of his life, and believe them yet in existence. Surely the man who could thus attach other men to himself, could not have been destitute of good qualities.

The general was not engaged in the Polish insurrection of 1831, but he did not fight against his countrymen; and after that unhappy war did much good to them, even to some who were known to be his enemies. Here is a proof of his kindly disposition and his influence in this respect. A short time back, the Russian governor of Kamienietz Podolski having a spite against a Polish gentleman, named Ratsiborowski, endeavoured to extort £2,520 from him, by accusing him with being connected with an imaginary plot, and also carrying on treasonable correspondence with the Countess Cordule Fredro, of Austrian Poland, a kind, affable lady (Countess Krasinska's de domo), who never interferes in politics, and has a splendid seat near the Carpathian mountains, close to the corner of the Austrian, Russian, and Turkish boundaries. To prove the guilt

of the unhappy Ratsiborowski and other Poles, the rascally governor concocted, and produced, several letters and suitable answers, in sympathetic ink. The Russian authorities required the Austrian government to deliver up the Countess, but this was refused, though some of her tenants were arrested, and confronted (at Kiof), with other victims of the governor's infernal artifice. They would, as a matter of course, have been condemned and exiled to Siberia, but luckily for them General Count Krasinski arrived at Kiof, on his way to his estates. Hearing that a Russian subaltern (an agent of the governor) was hovering previously about the Countess Fredro's estate, for the purpose of collecting evidence respecting her correspondence, and so forth, the general suspected some trick. He therefore lost no time in communicating his suspicions to Count Bekendorf (the head of the Russian police.) The result of the general's interposition was that the subaltern was placed under arrest, and the first night of his incarceration hung himself—the letters were satisfactorily shown to be forgeries—the iniquitous governor was dismissed—and his intended victims liberated.

General Count Krasinski is about sixty-eight years of age. He is of middle size, though stoutly built, and his features are marked by two large scars, one extending across his face, the other on his forehead; he is a celebrated pistol shot, and could, formerly, so well manage the lance, that surrounded at the battle of Wagram, in 1809, by several Austrians, he defended himself with it several minutes, killing two and disabling some of them without himself sustaining any injury. He dedicated to Napoleon a well-written pamphlet on the advantages of the lancers, and the use of the lance, for which he received a brace of pistols and a double-barrel gun from Napoleon valued at £3,000.

On another occasion, in the Russian campaign in 1812, he was ordered to make a *reconnaissance* with a small party of soldiers: he met three battalions of Russian infantry, advanced, contrary to the advice of his friends, within gun-shot of the Russians, alone, and, wishing courageously to fulfil his duty, quietly inspected their lines. The Russians fired a volley at him, and missed him; he bowed to them, and continued to observe them; they twice reloaded their guns and fired; twice more he bowed, and departed unhurt. A Colonel of the Cossacks, however, having an excellent horse, dashed so furiously at the general, that had not one of the Polish lancers parried the thrust of the Cossack, he would have in all probability killed the

former. The Colonel was taken prisoner, and cried like a woman when obliged to part with his horse ; he was kindly treated by the general and soon exchanged, and before leaving the Polish lancers a purse of gold was given to him. The Cossack swore never again to fire at a Pole, and was lost sight of.

In 1814, in France, the Cossacks were constantly at the heels of the French, and the general made a bet with Lefevre Denouette, that in the first encounter with the Cossacks he would not use his sword ; he gained the bet, and narrowly escaped being shot or taken prisoner. Most fortunately the same Cossack colonel recognised him, came to his assistance, gave him a glass of brandy, did not allow any one to fire at him, called him his friend, and exchanged almost every day some friendly words with him. This anecdote, which the general often mentioned, was corroborated by a Frenchman, at Chantilly, who was the eye-witness of it.

The general's mother (sister of the celebrated Count Czacki, the most learned man in Poland) amassed immense wealth, and was residing in Podolia. Some of her relatives watched this wealth like a hawk watches a partridge, and so much slandered him, that she became visibly cold to her son, and inclined to make a will in favour of his enemies. He was apprised of the trap, and having heard that the Countess R—— was the undoubted favourite of his mother, and resided with her, he came on a visit to his mother for three weeks, and paid so much attention to the lady alluded to, that she prevailed on his mother to live with him, and to give him all the cash she had, with slight restriction. After this she retired, it is said, to a convent ; it was the last of his celebrated conquests, accomplished at the age of forty-five.

To give an idea of his energetic eloquence, and bewitching manners it is worthy to be mentioned, that Napoleon called him one of the bravest, the most faithful, and the most dangerous of his courtiers. The French marshals gave him a splendid sword as a token of their regard for his fidelity to Napoleon. He is still alive, and in favour at the Russian court. His discernment is so great that he can read, as it were, the character of a man at twenty-five yards' distance. He is now busy, it is said, in writing his memoirs, and certainly they will be well written and extremely interesting.

His only son, Sigismond, received an excellent education, and has written some beautiful novels and poems : but some passages are so mystic and at the same time lofty, that it is no easy matter for



common minds to comprehend their meaning without explanation. Many poems attributed to him are not his. He possesses a liberal mind, stocked with extensive information. To noble sentiments and sterling qualities he unites some minor faults ; but his conversational powers and pleasing manners enable him to shine in polite society, although he possesses neither the manly beauty nor the dashing eloquence of his father. He is fond of the company of scientific men ; loves and dreads his father ; is a faithful friend and forgiving enemy. Though slightly whimsical, he charms every one by his obliging disposition, but will never take the lead in any thing. He, however, inherited from his father a peculiar tact in gently befooling others. Indeed, practical joking seems almost necessary to his existence, and if he cannot find somebody in high society to endure his jests, he will be satisfied with any man, on whom he may safely indulge such propensities. His jests, however, are rather piquant than offensive. He is a great sportsman. His wife, an amiable, rich, and handsome Ukrainian lady, who gave him two children, must have greatly contributed to his comfort and happiness. He is not far from forty, and is smaller and thinner than his father. He did not take any part in the last war with Russia, in 1831. His father's estates are Dunaïowce ; Iackowce, in Podolia ; Opinogora, in the late kingdom of Poland ; a splendid seat, Knyszyn ; Slivna, Bembnovka, and others, in Russian Poland ; he has a fine palace at Warsaw. One of Count Sigismond's estates is Luboml, and others belonging to his wife. It is the richest branch of the family.

The head of the second branch (Gallician) of Krasinski's family, is Count Peter Krasinski, with his two brothers, Leopold and Augustus. Count Peter was colonel in the previously mentioned celebrated regiment of Polish lancers, and made several campaigns under Napoleon, winning three decorations ; he married the late Countess Pawlikowska, has no children, likes dashing life, is stout, bald, under the middle size, above sixty-one, and resides on his fine seat of Rohatyn in Austrian Poland. He has all the airs of a great lord, and is an honourable man. His second brother Leopold is a man about sixty, thin, of middle size, and still a bachelor ; he has pleasing manners, but there is nothing Polish or Slavonic in him. When his brother Peter was fighting under Napoleon, he voluntarily entered the Austrian military service, and fought against the French, but in the very first engagement he received a musket-ball through the shoulder, which obliged him to leave the Austrian ranks, and checked his martial ardour for life.

This, however, brought him in such high favour at Vienna, that he was created chamberlain at the Austrian court, and he has always been treated by the Austrians with great regard. He is very clever, but so aristocratic in his predilections, that he would consider himself a criminal if his lips could pronounce the name of a commoner. He always says, "I have seen Prince, Marquis, Count, or Baron so and so;" and as he is a rigid Catholic, he hears mass every day, often confesses, speaks frequently of religion and God, kneels for half an hour on rising in the morning and going to bed; he may be, and probably is, very honest and very good, but he yet has an unfortunate countenance which seldom pleases. However, he is not answerable for his countenance. The general used to call him *Fafenschtein*, on account of his German predilections. He was in 1843 residing in England, and is acquainted with the Earl of Chesterfield. He has money in the funds and a small landed estate. His youngest brother Augustus, married the late Countess Jane Krasinska, the heiress of Krasne, the nest of Krasinski's family in the district of Plotsk, fifty-six English miles north of Warsaw. After his marriage he left Galicia, and settled in the Russian kingdom of Poland. He is extremely clever, an inveterate jester, and owes his whole fortune principally to General Count Vincent Krasinski, with whom he has frequent misunderstandings; their tongues meet each other, at times, like two razors, and they do not seem to be always on intimate terms, though several reconciliations have taken place, and the usual form of politeness is still kept between them. They fully acknowledge, however, their mutual abilities. Whenever the general intended to jest too much, *a la* Frederick the Great, with Augustus, he met such cutting rebukes, and such a stout resistance, that like a skilful tactician, he observed only his adversary's movements, without hurting him. The latter is a great lawyer, and defies the best of them. His age is about fifty, he is strongly marked with small pox, and has an aquiline nose. He was in the war with Russia, in 1831, an aide-de-camp of the General-in-Chief, Skrzynecki, now in Belgium, and fought nobly at Ostrolenka, where he was wounded and decorated. An Ukrainian valet of General Count Krasinski called him "*Raboy Mudry Panicz*, that is, a crafty, spotted, young lord." This *sobriquet* excited much mirth, and will remain with him for life; he comes to the point in all questions, and laughs at the poetry of life. His estates are Krasne, Golow, Adamow; the two latter are in Podlussia; he has a son thirteen years of age, and two sisters, one, Cordula,

married to the late Count Fredro, and the other married to Iablonowski. The former visited London recently.

The head of the third branch is Count Stanislaus Krasinski, with his two brothers, Charles and Adam. He is now about thirty-seven years of age, six feet high, proportionably stout, has dark hair, hazel eyes, and is a fine man; he held a commission in the Polish army in the last war with Russia, in 1831; distinguished himself by his gallantry, charged boldly a large square of Russian infantry with a half squadron of cavalry, and received sixteen bayonet wounds; a book put under his coat saved his life. He married after the war, Princess Iablonowska, a lady of superior knowledge and amiable disposition, and has several daughters by her; they are very happy with each other. He has strong common sense, a good deal of tact (easily kept with wealth), and is a man of noted principles of honour, and a certain ability in managing his estates. His principal seats are Zegrze, near Warsaw, and Sterdynia, in Podlussia, in the Russian kingdom of Poland; his wife brought him also some estates in the Polish Ukraine. His second brother, Charles, is inferior to him in point of bodily strength and manly qualities; he married Countess Lubinska, and without speaking to her one single word, a year after his marriage, having heard of some fine paintings at Rome, suddenly left his wife and set out for Italy; and when she with tears and lamentations inquired what had become of him, she found a letter on her table, in which he advised her not to distress her mind, and to do during his absence what she thought best for herself, because he should soon return, and he never ceased to like and esteem her; he actually returned in a few months, and the only motive of his sudden departure was, it is said, a trial of his wife's attachment and his love of the fine arts. His youngest brother, Adam, is about twenty-six years of age, married Countess Mycielska, (a Gallician lady, of high birth and noble feelings) and resembles in many respects his eldest brother, Stanislaus. Their estates are Radzieiowitze, Krasnosielc, a palace at Warsaw, and a mansion at Cracow.

They have two amiable sisters, one, Mandzia, married to Count Kazimir Lubinski, and the second, Paulina, married to Gorski. Their mother, the dowager Countess Joseph Krasinska, whose maiden name was Countess Emily Ossolinska, is still alive, and was remarkable, no less for her great beauty and fidelity to her husband, under the most trying circumstances, than for her cheerful spirit.

The head of the fourth branch is the author, political emigrant

since 1831 ; he has two younger brothers, namely, Boleslaus, who divorced the wife of Colonel Breanski, an emigrant, specially cherished by Prince Czartoryski ; and Vincent, married to Miss Eustachia Swientoslawska. The former received an excellent education, and inherited the principal part of the property of our uncle (Isidor), the late Polish minister for the war department. He resides at Ianikof. The second, whose education was neglected, lives at Siemiennitze. Both are of quiet, easy dispositions, and are fond of country life, without being fond of shooting. The former was engaged in the last war, and the other not. The former has no children. The second is blessed with four of them. Our only sister, Adela, married to the late General Malecki, resides at Zbozena. She speaks seven languages. She has a daughter.

There are three generations of Count Korwin Krasinski's family. The head of the first is the general alluded to ; and to the abovenamed generation, besides him, belong Peter, Leopold, and Augustus Krasinski.

The author is head of the second generation, and it includes Stanislaus, Sigismundus, Boleslaus, Charles, Vincent, and Adam Krasinski. The youthful son of Augustus Krasinski is the head of the third generation, and it comprises the two sons of Sigismundus, the children of Stanislaus, and the children of the author's brother Vincent. All the abovenamed Korwin-Slepowron Krasinski, belonging to four branches and three generations of that family, are Roman Catholics, though by no means fanatics. They are each entitled Count in the registration of their birth, and their fathers paid something for legalizing their title after the partition of Poland, but such title not being Polish, it was not held in much regard by them, and seldom mentioned, except on the address of a letter. They were generally designated by their Christian and surnames. The late Emperor Napoleon, however, wishing to reward the feats of General Count Vincent Krasinski, and his unshaken fidelity to his imperial person, created him also a Count of the French empire ; but that title (of which he is very proud, and which is acknowledged by the Emperor of Russia), is limited to the general himself, his son, and grandsons. It may be further remarked that the late Emperor Alexander, as king of Poland, not only confirmed the general's possession of the lands temporarily granted to him in Poland by Napoleon, as an inheritance, but it is said, desired to confer on him the title of a prince, which honour the general, thinking that he had not the proper opportunity to deserve, begged his Imperial Majesty's permission to decline.

Besides the relationship of the Korwin-Krasinski family to two dynasties of the ancient kings of Hungary, it is allied to other regal families, in the following manner:—Countess Frances Krasinska married, at Warsaw, Nov. 4, 1760, the Prince Royal of Poland, Charles Duke of Courland, son of Augustus III, King of Poland and Saxony. Their only daughter, the Princess Mary, born at Dresden, espoused, after the death of her parents, Prince Carignan of Savoy, whose descendants are closely connected with the reigning families of Lombardy and Sardinia.

After the conquest of Moscow by the celebrated Polish chieftain Zulkiewski, who vanquished, dethroned, and took prisoner the czar Szuyski, in 1610, a new Russian dynasty (called Romanoff) was elected to the throne of Russia, in consequence of which, after the death of the captive czar Szuyski, in Poland, his relatives, fearing the persecution of the above-mentioned dynasty, left Russia, turned Roman Catholics, and established themselves in Poland.

The author's grandmother, whose maiden name was Princess Anna Szuyska, and who married, firstly, Count Krasicki (pronounced Krasitski), and, secondly, John Orzeszko, and died twenty-five years ago, at Warsaw, was one of the last female descendants of that family. She was very proud of her noble descent, and used a crown (*mitra*) in her armorial bearings. Her mother was an Italian lady, connected with the powerful Sardinian family of Oreglio, and her grandmother was a native of England. Thus, north and south of Europe, Korwin Krasinski's family was, and still is, distantly related to sovereign houses.

Though the author's branch is now the least wealthy of the four abovenamed branches of Krasinski's family, it was originally the richest. Enormous wealth passed from the author's ancestor into Prince Lubomirski's family, and one Princess Lubomirska, having no children, purposed bequeathing part of her wealth to the descendants of the author's branch, (from whence it was derived), but she died very suddenly without a will, and was thus precluded from carrying into effect, her just and laudable intention, though it was proved by many persons that she mentioned it the very day of her demise. The author may be pardoned an expression of his hope that his Highness Prince Henry Lubomirski, who is not only an honourable man, but one of the most accomplished gentlemen in Poland, may so far prevail on his relatives, that the author, who is the eldest of the family, and has not taken any share in the succession which was divided after the death

of his three uncles, among his younger brothers and his sister (already mentioned), shall not be utterly left without some honourable means of existence in England (where he will probably reside for life) merely because he fought for Poland.

In the future edition of the "Polish Aristocracy" the author will probably mention more anecdotes of the Polish families, and may publish all the songs and poems on the celebrated regiment of Polish lancers commanded, during the time of Napoleon, by General Count Vincent Krasinski, who has been very kind to the author's parents, and even to the author himself before 1831; and though he may differ in politics with many, whoever knows the general must more or less like him. He is a sort of scion of the Krasinski family; and though the author's paternal uncle (Isidor), who commanded the whole Polish infantry before the war of 1831, had frequent misunderstandings with the general alluded to, yet before his death in 1841, he appointed him a trustee of his lady. Her maiden name was Countess Barbara Krasicka, and she was half-sister to the author's late mother, and is still alive, but blind.

All the abovenamed Krasinskis, with whom the author is personally acquainted, are liberal, brave, at times excitable, slightly proud and whimsical, extremely hospitable, rather fond of the fair sex and of jesting. They prefer a monarchy to a republic. They possess strong perceptive powers, are grateful for the slightest mark of kindness, and yet often difficult to please. The general has recently established an entail in the family, reversable to other branches.

From the above description of Korwin Krasinski's family it will be perceived that it is not inferior to any, not only in Poland, but in Europe. Few even sovereign houses can trace their ancestors to the Romans.

Count Stanislaus Krasinski was decorated for his gallantry, and has been in England.

Among the female portion of Korwin Krasinski's family, Countess Sigismund Krasinska is one of the best, and for charity and kindness has a reputation equal to that which the honourable Mrs. Hamilton enjoys, near Worcester, and Misses Harris and Lowther, near Whitehaven.

See ancient edition of Niesiecki, Sarnicki, Konstytucye Xięstwa Mazowieckiego, Akta, Woiewodztwa, Plockiego, Rozmaitosci, Wegierckie i Szlaskie, &c. &c.

# NA SZEROKIM POLI.

*Duma.*

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# COSAQUE ET DZIUBA.

*Allegretto.*

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# LES ADIEUX DU COSAQUE.

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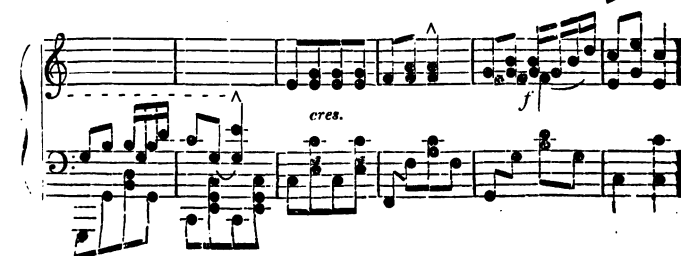
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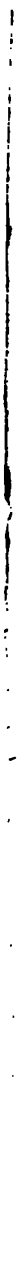
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